

Robert F. Richard

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TIMOTHE BRIGHT
DOCTOR OF PHISICKE

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A MEMOIR OF "THE FATHER
OF MODERN SHORTHAND"

BY

WILLIAM J. CARLTON

WITH PHOTOGRAPHS AND FACSIMILES

LONDON: ELLIOT STOCK
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PREFACE

WRITERS of all nationalities who have treated of the rise and progress of stenography, sharply divided though they may be as to the place and period of its origin, the priority of Greeks or Romans in its cultivation, or even as to the true source and significance of the so-called *Notæ Tironianæ*, are at one in conceding to the English people the unquestioned honour of being the first to resuscitate the “lithe and noble” art from its long torpor in mediæval times. Nor have the claims of Timothy Bright to be regarded as the real inaugurator of the modern revival of what was long held to be a peculiarly English art ever been seriously challenged. Those few who would urge that on the brow of Peter Bales, rather than on Timothy Bright’s, “must be twined the gilt apple-cluster, if not the laurel-wreath, as the first in the stenographic race,” have yet to make out a *primâ facie* case for the famous penman ; and quite lately the pretensions of the “Mr. Ratcliff of Plimouth,” who figured so long and so prominently in histories of shorthand as the supposed “inventor” of an abbreviated

longhand, which was acclaimed as the first great step towards a system of stenography, have been effectually disposed of.

Yet the man to whom, more than to any other, the genesis of modern shorthand is admittedly due—the morning star of the stenographic renaissance—has shared to a great extent the neglect into which, until comparatively recent years, practically all the shorthand worthies of the past had been suffered to sink—a neglect which made it possible, while the tercentenary of his invention was being commemorated in 1887, for some to stigmatize him as “an exhumed obscurity.” It is surely a matter for reproach that no attempt has been made hitherto to record in detail what time has preserved to us of his interesting and not uneventful career as a physician and a divine, the epitomizer of Foxe and the anticipator of Burton—above all, as “the father of modern shorthand.” What the average follower of the craft knows of Bright is no more than can be gathered from the meagre and seldom accurate sketches of his life which have appeared at intervals in a few stenographic periodicals. The only “life” which may be said to be generally accessible is that contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography* by the late Mr. Thompson Cooper, but this is in the nature of the case very brief. The *Transactions* of the first International Shorthand Congress include a “Monograph on Timothy Bright,” read before the Congress in 1887

by Dr. John Westby Gibson, and a rather fuller account from the pen of Mr. James Singleton of Leeds appeared in the *Phonetic Journal* of that year. These, with an article in *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, by Dr. Norman Moore, another in the Thoresby Society's *Miscellanea*, by the Ven. Henry Armstrong Hall, and a third in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, by Mr. William Brown, F.S.A., prefixed to Bright's will, are the only biographical notices of importance; the two last mentioned containing valuable new information, of which liberal use has been made in the ensuing pages.

None of the essays referred to, however, professes to be anything more than a *résumé*. A fuller life of Bright, based upon original documents and authorities, embodying all the known facts of his career, has long been a *desideratum*; and the inaction of those better qualified for the task must be my excuse for submitting this little monograph, with all its imperfections. In it an effort has been made to gather into one continuous narrative information found in widely scattered sources (many particulars being here published for the first time), with a view of enabling the vast army of disciples of the wingèd art to realize in some degree what manner of man he was to whom shorthand owes its existence as it is to-day, and to show that he is deserving of at least a niche in some inconspicuous corner of the Temple of Fame.

Valued assistance is acknowledged in some of the footnotes, but I have particularly to thank Mr. W. Aldis Wright, M.A., Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Mr. J. E. Foster, M.A., Secretary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Dr. Norman Moore, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Mr. Alexander Tremaine Wright, Secretary of the Institute of Shorthand Writers practising in the Supreme Court of Judicature; Mr. W. Grinton Berry, M.A.; and the present Rectors of Methley and Barwick-in-Elmet, without whose kind help this little work must have been far less accurate and complete. To the Right Hon. the Earl of Mexborough I am indebted for his courtesy in allowing photographs to be taken of MSS. preserved at Methley Hall; to Messrs. Bowes and Bowes, of Cambridge, for permission to reproduce a portion of Hamond's map from their unpublished *facsimile*; to the Governing Bodies of Emmanuel and Magdalene Colleges, Cambridge; to the authorities of the British Museum; and to others whom it would be difficult to thank individually, but who will, it is hoped, accept this general acknowledgment of their ready responses to my inquiries.

W. J. C.

BALHAM, LONDON,
December, 1910.

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As this *Memoir* is passing through the press a third copy of Bright's *Characterie*, containing the "folding leaf" or "synoptical table," referred to on pp. 88-89 *post*, has been located in the library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres at Haigh Wall, Wigan, Lancs. It proves to be the identical volume formerly owned by James Bindley and Benjamin Hanbury successively, and bears their autograph signatures on the flyleaf. This interesting exemplar is in a fine state of preservation, bound in vellum, with gilt tooling on back and sides.

A reduced *facsimile* of the folding sheet, entitled "A generall viewv of the Art of Charactery," which measures in the original $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches, will be found facing p. 88. See *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, vol. i., col. 1081; *Pitman's Journal*, vol. lxx., p. 4 (January 7, 1911).

PEDIGREE

WILLIAM BRIGHT, buried

TIMOTHY, born at Cambridge 1550 or 1551; physician = Margaret, bur
at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, 1585-1591; St. Mary's, Shrews
Rector of Methley, 1591, and of Barwick-in-Elmet, February 9, 1619-20.
1594; buried at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, Septem-
ber 6, 1615; will dated August 9, proved at York,
November 13.

<p>TIMOTHY, born = Edith, daughter of John before 1580; Lewys, of Marr, J.P.. married at Recorder of Doncaster Marr, July 4, (died October 17, 1589, 1610; died Sep- aged 45), and his wife tember 20 or 25, Mary, daughter of Lionel 1617; buried at Reresby, of Thriberg; High Melton, died October 5, 1617; will near Doncas- dated October 4, proved at ter, September York, November 7; buried 25. at Melton, October 5.</p>	<p>TITUS, baptized at Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, July 31, 1580; married Catherine, daughter of George Anne, of Frickley, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Richard Fenton, of Burgh-Wallis, at Holy Trinity, Hull, or St. John's, Beverley, 1628 (her will dated December 22, 1653, proved at London, November 24, 1656; buried at St. John's, Beverley); died before 1654.</p>
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<p>TIMOTHY, of Doncas- = Elizabeth, daughter of John = Bartholomew Cowling, Ro ter, matric. St. John's West, of Hatfield; mar- third husband, livin College, Cambridge, ried (first) Robert Carlill living 1658. December 15, 1629; (buried December 17, married February 1631); died before 1659. 18, 1632-33.</p>	
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<p>JOHN, baptized December 16, 1633; living 1658.</p>	<p>TIMOTHY, baptized December 30, 1634; living 1658.</p>	<p>WILLIAM, baptized January 5, 1635-36; buried at Doncaster, October 9, 1641.</p>	<p>JANE, baptized April 22, 1637; living 1658.</p>	<p>Tempest Cowling, living 1658.</p>	<p>Susan liv</p>
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William Congreve, born at Bardsey Grange, 1
at Surrey Street, Strand, London, Janu

OF BRIGHT.

at Methley, August 24, 1592.

ed at bury,	WILLIAM, pensioner of Pembroke College, Cambridge, April 1, 1579; public preacher, Shrewsbury, January 24, 1597 98; buried at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, October 29, 1618; will dated August 10, 1618, proved at London, January 11, 1618-19.		RICHARD, of London; living 1618.	
ELIZABETH, baptized at Gt. St. Mary's, Cambridge, March 23, 1581-82; living 1618.	SUSAN, baptized at Gt. St. Mary's, Cambridge, April 14, 1583; buried at Methley, November 26, 1593.	PAUL, baptized at St. Bartholomew's- the-Less, London, February 9, 1585-86; buried at St. Bartholomew's- the-Less, March 10, 1585-86.	MARGARET, baptized at St. Bartholomew's- the-Less, London, August 18, 1588; buried at St. Bartholomew's-the- Less, November 12, 1588.	PETER, buried at Barwick-in- Elmet, November 25, 1595.

BERT, g 1617.	Walter Browning, = first husband, died before 1639.	MARY, = married second) August 22, 1639.	George Roe, of Doncaster, M.D.; born in 1611; mar- ried (first) Frances . . . (buried at Doncaster, Octo- ber 10, 1637); died April 5, 1651; buried at St. John's, near Laughton.	JANE, born October 14, 1614; baptized at Melton, October 23; living 1617.
na Cowling, ing 1658. Browning, = born before 1640.	William Congreve, second son of Richard Con- greve, of Stretton Hall, Staffordshire, and Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, grand- daughter of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert; born after 1636.	Vernon Roe, baptized April 3, 1640.	Francis Roe, baptized June 15, 1641.

ear Leeds, February 10, 1669-70; died, unmarried,
ry 19, 1729; buried in Westminster Abbey.

TIMOTHE BRIGHT

DOCTOR OF PHISICKE

CHAPTER I

EVENTFUL EARLY YEARS

“THE name ‘Bright’ is an excellent Anglo-Saxon name. In the Saxon it was spelled ‘Beorht.’ It is the simple word *bright*, but was used then with much more extensive meaning, as signifying *distinguished, excellent, surpassing in courage* or anything else, as you would say now, ‘a *shining* fellow’; we say ‘a bright fellow’ more with reference to his intelligence. Hence the name means ‘an excellent or distinguished man.’ Beorht was a common name among the Anglo-Saxons, and is often found in records.” Thus the learned antiquary and Saxon scholar Thomas Wright, F.S.A., from whose explanation we may infer that the name was bestowed originally in recognition of some meritorious achievement or high qualities upon an individual of whom nothing further has been handed down to us. After the Norman Conquest the name was borne by many families, who became widely scattered throughout the country, and whose members have been very numerous. The Brights of Suffolk (from the time of William Bright, Rector of Endgate in 1376), of York-

shire, and of Worcestershire were important branches. From this last stock sprang the accomplished Henry Bright, Canon of Worcester, and headmaster of the King's Free School, where he had for one of his pupils the creator of *Hudibras*. Unfortunately for the pleasing proposition, advanced so long ago as 1853,¹ that the author of *Characterie* may have been an "ancestor" of the Canon, it is not easily reconciled with the fact that Henry was the junior of Timothy by no more than a dozen years. Other offshoots of the family settled in Essex, Cheshire, Norfolk, London, and even in Ireland; but from none of these can Timothy Bright's descent be traced.

The frequent occurrence of the name in and around Sheffield from an early period led the Rev. Joseph Hunter, in 1815,² to surmise that Timothy Bright was born in that neighbourhood; and later writers have been at pains to connect him with the Brights of Carbrook (now a part of the borough of Sheffield), whose pedigree goes back to John Bright, of Horelow or Whorlow Hall, to whom John Stephenson mortgaged a messuage, so called, and lands there and at Fulwood in 1410 for 100 marks. In the sixteenth century this once opulent family owned estates all round the district known as Hallamshire, and had considerable local influence. It produced many men of distinction—notably Colonel Sir John Bright, of Carbrook and Badsworth, who played a conspicuous part in the struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament; while in more recent

¹ *Notes and Queries*, first series, vol. vii., p. 407.

² Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (ed. Bliss), vol. ii., p. 174 note.

years the family traditions have been worthily upheld by such men as the Rev. Mynors Bright, President of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and decipherer of Pepys' shorthand diary ; Sir Charles Tilston Bright, of Atlantic cable fame ; and the Rev. William Bright, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in that University. Eager to shed yet greater lustre upon the biographic annals of their county, some good Yorkshiremen would have us believe that Timothy Bright was of this proud and ancient lineage—quite recently, indeed, one of these local enthusiasts boldly affirmed that he was born at Carbrook itself.

“ The doctor's residence in Carbrook,” we are told, “ seems to have been destroyed soon after he left it, for the Carbrook Old Hall, long the home of the Brights, and still standing and in use as an inn, was built in the reign of James I. But when seated in its panelled parlour, and drinking to the memory of the fine old Elizabethan worthy, we are as near as we can ever hope to get to at least the site of the cradle of English shorthand.”¹

It is with reluctance that one disturbs so romantic a fancy, but the stubborn fact is that not a particle of evidence has yet been forthcoming in support of this confident assumption : those who would claim him as a native of the broad-acred shire can produce nothing more convincing than his having been beneficed in the West Riding late in life. On the other hand, we have Bright's own explicit declaration that Cambridge was the place of his birth : *Cantabrigiensis sum, & genere, & vitæ instituto. Hæc primum datum & solis luce frui,*

¹ *Shorthand Teacher*, vol. xiii., p. 148 (July, 1909).

*& quod longè majus est religione pura, & liberalium scientiarum preceptis erudiri.*¹ ("I am a Cantabrigian both by birth and the ordainment of my life. Here it was first given me to see the light of day, and, what is far more, to be instructed in pure religion and the precepts of the liberal sciences.") This irrefragable piece of evidence, quoted in part by Beloe,² but unaccountably overlooked by Thompson Cooper and Westby Gibson, establishes his birthplace beyond cavil: it is to the ancient University town rather than to the busy steel centre that we must look for the cradle of English shorthand.

As early as 1373 one John Bright was incumbent of Eltesley, a village in the extreme west corner of Cambridgeshire; but in the town of Cambridge no mention of the name has been found earlier than 1527, when a lease was granted by St. John's College to Peter Bright, stationer of Cambridge, of "a certen garden" in the parish of St. Sepulchre.³ Little else is known concerning the stationer than that his will was proved February 1, 1545.⁴ We learn from the burial register at Methley that the forename of Timothy's father was William; beyond that nothing can be said definitely as to his parentage. A William Bright was Mayor of Cambridge in 1571; he is mentioned as an Alderman four years later; and in the Common-Day Book of the town his name occurs in various civic capacities about that time.

¹ *Hygieina*, sign. A5 (verso).

² *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. i. (1807), p. 227.

³ Baker's *History of the College of St. John* (ed. Mayor, 1869), vol. i., p. 347.

⁴ G. J. Gray's *Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders* (1904), pp. 64, 65.

While, in the absence of information with regard to the family connections of this functionary, it would be rash to assume any relationship between him and the subject of the present *Memoir*, there is nothing either in the scanty records available concerning the former or the equally meagre particulars of the latter's early life inconsistent with the possibility of their being father and son. The Mayor may well have been a respectable tradesman of slender fortune—just such a one as might be expected to enter his boy as a humble student at the University, which is precisely what the father of Timothy Bright did. Born and nurtured, as he was, under the shadow of that great shrine of classic learning, it would be strange indeed if the future stenographer's name had not been enrolled among her *alumni*.

The next ascertained fact in the life of Timothy Bright is that he was matriculated as a subsizar¹ of Trinity College, Cambridge, on May 21, 1561. In the matriculation book preserved in the University Registry the ages of some of the younger students are jotted in the margin, and against Bright's name is the note "*imp[ubes]* 11." This is the only indication we have of the date of his birth, which must have taken place in 1550 or 1551—probably the former. It is to be remembered that the legal year then began on March 25, so that if his age in May, 1561, was eleven years, his birth must have occurred at some date between March 25,

¹ Both sizars and subsizars were entered in the matriculation register under the general heading "sizars," but the Mason manuscripts at Trinity (copied by Cole, British Museum Additional MS. 5846, p. 284) show that Bright belonged to the lower class.

1550, and March 25, 1551, according to our modern mode of reckoning. That is at present as near as we can get, for in the only two Cambridge registers which go back as far as 1550—All Saints' and St. Benedict's—the name of Bright does not appear; and the register of Great St. Mary, in which parish Bright is found living at a later date, begins no earlier than 1557.

In the sixteenth century it was customary for parents to send their sons to college much earlier than now. Francis Bacon was little more than twelve when he went up to the same foundation in 1573, while in 1581 as many as eighteen boys of eleven were matriculated at Oxford. Sir Henry Spelman, who entered Trinity College in his fourteenth year, says of himself that he was scarcely ripe for academical studies. Even in quite recent years, however, it was usual to enter an undergraduate a year or two before he went into residence; and although matriculated at so tender an age, Bright does not appear to have gone into residence until 1564.¹ He tells the readers of his first book that he was born "vnder that condition of men, whereby one is bound to imploy his giftes for the benefit of an other"; and the circumstance of his entering the University as a "sub-sizar" is in itself a sure indication that he was of humble parentage. The poorer scholars thus designated were partly supported by the college funds, and were allowed certain gratuities for performing menial services. "The chapel clerk, the porter at the gate, the college cook, and the steward, were all alike on the foundation, and generally recruited from the subsizars; while those of

¹ Additional MS. 5846, p. 253.

that class who were invested with no definite office acted as valets to the fellow-commoners and pensioners. Each was required to rouse his master for morning chapel, to clean his boots, and sometimes to dress his hair. He brought his orders from the butteries, carried his letters and messages, and in some cases wrote his college exercises. . . . When the master and the servitor retired for repose at night, the former slept singly in his bed, while the latter occupied a low couch on rollers (a truckle-bed, as it was termed) beneath him. The tutor and his pupil often occupied the same relative positions, and poor scholars generally slept two in a bed, or four in the same room.”¹

Bright’s tutor—of whom we shall have more to say in the pages that follow—was Vincent Skinner, a man of high qualities and attainments, whose influence in these early days must have had a good deal to do with the shaping of his career. For tutor and pupil then stood in a close and often affectionate relation to each other; the number of students proceeding to degrees being far smaller than now, a tutor could not only educate all his pupils, but understand their characters by personal intercourse. Skinner had been admitted a Minor Fellow of Trinity on September 29, 1562, and became Major Fellow in Bright’s first year. The Master of the college at this time was Robert Beaumont, well known as a sympathizer with the Puritan party; and among Bright’s contemporaries at Trinity were such men as Matthew Hutton, afterwards Archbishop of York; Edward Coke, the future Attorney-General;

¹ Mullinger’s *University of Cambridge*, vol. ii. (1884), pp. 399, 400.

and, a little later, Coke's yet more famous rival, Francis Bacon.

The daily life of the students was regulated in minute detail by the statutes of 1560. Each undergraduate was expected to rise at half-past four, and (after saying his private prayers) to attend chapel service at five. He then adjourned to the hall for breakfast, during which meal the Scripture was read and expounded. From six to nine the lessons learned on the previous day had to be recited, and those for the next day learnt, the subjects of study being mathematics, dialectics, and philosophy. At nine the students were expected to attend the public schools, either to hear lectures or to listen to or take part in the public disputations. Dinner was served at eleven, and at one o'clock the students returned to their attendance on the declamations and exercises in the schools. From three until six in the afternoon they were at liberty to pursue their amusements or their private studies; at six they supped in hall, and immediately afterwards retired—or were supposed to retire—to their chambers, there being no evening service on ordinary days until the reign of James I.

His first year at college was a memorable one for the young freshman, for it was marked by an occasion no less momentous than a visit from Queen Elizabeth herself. "The auspicious event was heralded by a missive from Cecil, who, on the fourth of August, appeared in person. On the following day, a blazing August Saturday, at about two o'clock, Majesty itself was seen approaching. To all present it must have been an experience not soon forgotten. There was the

Chancellor, that model of shrewd observation and sagacious foresight, somewhat halt with a 'sore leg,' but assiduously present at every scene, marking with a keenness that little could escape the spirit and the purpose that underlay all the pageantry, the hyperbolic eloquence, the mimic disputation. By his side appeared his learned and benevolent spouse, the Lady Mildred—a better scholar, it was whispered, than Elizabeth herself. There was Royalty, attired in black velvet and gorgeous with jewels, beauteous in mature but still youthful womanhood, entering on horseback the halls of the different colleges, and listening to orations of welcome, now in Greek, now in Latin, herself inexhaustible of jest and repartee, admired and admiring, finding utterance, to the feigned astonishment of the hearers, in charming Ciceronian Latin, and exhibiting throughout an elasticity of spirit and powers of physical endurance that won the genuine admiration of all—not, however, so elate or so lulled into complacency as not to mark with sharp feminine eye the tattered gowns and soiled hoods in which some of the Masters of Art ventured to appear, and even occasionally dealing out a true Tudor rap when importunity pressed somewhat unduly upon her benignity. There, around her, was gathered the best talent of the University in black and in scarlet, presenting verses, orations, gloves, and sweetmeats, haranguing, reciting, preaching, praying, acting, disputing, but ever returning by dexterous gyrations to the one essential topic—the royal virtues and excellencies."

All the colleges were visited in turn, two only excepted. The oration at Trinity was delivered by Dodington, the

reader of the Greek lecture, and Bright was doubtless an eager listener and observer ; at all events, his name appears in the list of *subsisatores*, or subsizars, of the college who at the time “ *sumptibus amicorum aut suis vivunt.*”¹ After five days’ brilliant entertainment the ceremonies came to a close, the Queen departed with the same pomp as attended her arrival, and the students tried to banish the excitement of the visitation by fixing their bewildered minds on books and lectures.

Timothy Bright’s studies must have been interrupted, too, by the tumults which stirred the University in connection with the celebrated *Advertisements* of Archbishop Parker, especially with regard to the question of vestments. Three hundred students and fellows of St. John’s having strenuously resisted the imposition of hoods and surplices in chapel, the whole of the members of Trinity, with only one or two exceptions, followed suit, and boldly threw off the “popish habits,” an act which drew from Cecil, as Chancellor of the University, a peremptory order for their resumption. A letter dated November 26, 1565, signed by Beaumont and Whitgift among others, implored the Chancellor to intercede with the Queen, but without avail. On July 4, 1567, Beaumont was succeeded in the Mastership by John Whitgift, afterwards to become Primate ; and the disputes which arose between the new head and Thomas Cartwright, finally resulting in the latter’s expulsion, cannot have failed to leave their impression on the young student.

¹ Nichols’ *Progresses* (ed. 1788-1805), vol. iii., p. 146. Bright appears never to have become a sizar, but soon after this date is mentioned as a “pensioner”—the term for students who paid for their commons out of their own income.

On April 18, 1567, Bright had been admitted a Scholar of Trinity, and in 1567-68 he graduated B.A. His name appears in the books of the college as a Bachelor Scholar until Michaelmas, 1570, when he apparently went out of residence without taking his M.A. degree, which in the ordinary course he would have done in 1571. Doubtless by this time he had made his choice of a career, and begun to study for the medical profession ; but the scientific training which Cambridge afforded at that time was of the scantiest. The student of physic had to acquire the greater part of his professional knowledge abroad, Pisa and Padua in Italy, Paris and Montpellier in France, boasting schools of far greater renown than any in England.

Bright accordingly betook himself to the Continent in order to furnish himself with the lore so indispensable in his profession. In view of his subsequent relations with Sir Francis Walsingham, it might be suggested that he accompanied that nobleman to Paris in the autumn of 1570 ; but nothing can be said positively of his movements prior to 1572, when he is found in the French capital. In that memorable year, on the morning of Sunday, August 24, began the fiendish massacre of St. Bartholomew ; and the young English student would assuredly have been one of its victims had he not, with many distinguished countrymen—among them young Philip Sidney—early taken refuge in the house of the English Ambassador.

“ Among all your honorable fauours,” he wrote, addressing Walsingham long afterwards, “ that especiall protection from the bloody massacre of Paris, nowe six-

teene yeeres passed : yet (as euer it will bee) fresh with mee in memory : hath alwaies since bound me, with all the bondes of duetie, and seruice vnto your honour. The benefite as it was common to many, (for your H[onour's] house at that time, was a very sanctuarie, not only for all of our nation, but euen to many strangers, then in perill, and vertuously disposed) so was it therfore, the more memorable, & far more honorable : and bindeth me with streighter obligation of dutie, and thankfulness : who thereby had cause to reioyce, not only for mine owne safetie, but for so many of my couëtrie-men, partly of acquaintance, and partly of noble houses of this Realme : who had all tasted of the rage of that furious Tragedy, had not your honour shrowded them : and nowe are witnesses with mee of that right noble acte, and companions of like obligation."

There can be no doubt that, had it not been for the protection afforded to the English Embassy by order of Charles IX., nothing could have saved Bright and his companions from a dreadful fate. Even as it was, two or three Englishmen are said to have fallen in consequence of receiving the warning too late. From this haven of refuge he must have witnessed those scenes of horror which have left such a black blot on the history of the French nation, and they impressed themselves indelibly on his memory. For seven days the ghastly work of slaughtering the Huguenots was continued in Paris, on the first three especially with relentless fury. The Seine became a veritable river of blood, and at one time appeared likely to become choked with corpses. In the capital alone 2,000 are believed to have perished on the first day of the massacre, while the total number of victims is variously estimated in figures ranging from

30,000 to 70,000. Among the slain was Pierre de la Ramée, the French philosopher, whom Bright praises as "the restorer of all liberall artes, especially the greatest M[aster] of Logike, and the perfectest practiser of the same, that euer liued before him"; whilst Antoine Chevallier, whose Hebrew lectures at Cambridge Bright may well have attended, escaped the fury of the mob only to contract a fatal fever in the woods to which he fled, and succumbed before he could reach the shores of England.

"One would have thought," wrote the late J. E. Bailey,¹ "that the scene at the Embassy would have presented attractions for the inquiry of the historian or the pencil of the painter; but a few lines only are devoted to it in the most recent and valuable contribution to the subject:² 'Some were saved at the house of the English Ambassador, although a guard had been set over it, as much to keep out refugees as to protect the English who had been hastily collected within its walls.' " An earlier historian, however, has deemed Bright's account of sufficient importance to quote, and in John Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*³ it is given due prominence as the testimony of an eye-witness. The events of those awful days probably did more than anything else to determine Bright's religious principles and strengthen his convictions. In all likelihood, his had been a Protestant upbringing, and he had found the Reformation doctrines firmly rooted at Cambridge; but, above all, the appalling carnage of St. Bartholomew's Eve, in

¹ *Phonetic Journal*, vol. xxxiv., p. 538 (December 18, 1875).

² H. White's *Massacre of St. Bartholomew* (1868), pp. 443, 444.

³ Vol. ii. (1725), pp. 151, 152.

which he was so nearly involved, imbued him with a deep distrust of "the papistical superstition." Those unparalleled atrocities planned and carried out under the *ægis* of the Church of Rome could not fail to kindle in the breast of the young student, then on the threshold of manhood, the intense abhorrence of Romish tenets which clung to him through life.

In England the news of the massacre was received with the gravest anxiety and alarm. On September 12, almost immediately after the grim tidings had reached London, Sir Thomas Smith, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, wrote to Walsingham: "How fearful and careful the mothers and parents be here of such young Gentlemen as be there [in Paris], you may easily guess by my Lady Lane, who prayeth very earnestly that her son may be sent home with as much speed as may be." Already the Privy Council had despatched a letter to the Ambassador, thanking him for the shelter he had afforded his countrymen, and urging him to advise the latter to return without delay. There is no reason to doubt that Bright followed this wise counsel, and made his way to England as quickly as circumstances would allow; unless, indeed, he continued his travels into Italy and Germany. It must have been about this period that he visited the wonderful mineral springs at Spa, to which the fashionable folk of Europe were just beginning to resort—a visit which, as will be seen, was afterwards turned to good account. At all events, he was back in 1573-74, when he proceeded to the degree of M.B. at Cambridge. In 1575 he became a Licentiate of Medicine, and in 1578-79 a fully-fledged M.D.

CHAPTER II

FIRST ESSAYS IN AUTHORSHIP

BY this time Bright had taken to himself a wife—although neither the lady's name nor the exact date of the marriage is known—and in due course he became the father of a son, to whom he gave his own name, Timothy. Having thus taken his doctor's degree and entered the matrimonial state, he appears to have settled down in Cambridge and practised in his profession. The time in which he lived corresponded to the period in medicine which immediately preceded the discovery of the circulation of the blood. It was a time of transition. Scientific investigation was restricted almost entirely to the study of the writings of Galen, Hippocrates, and Aristotle, the physicians of the time being content for the most part to expound and comment upon their teachings, accounting it almost impiety to question them. The direct appeal to Nature had been discouraged, and its results looked upon with distrust when they were found to be at variance with the doctrines of these writers. But in some directions independent inquiry was taking the place of an implicit reliance on the old theories ; Paracelsus had lived and taught, and the conflict between his disciples and the Galenists

was prolonged into the next century ; Vesalius, the great anatomist, was but recently dead ; Fabricius was teaching at Padua. The air was full of the din of contending theorists, but nevertheless the medical art was advancing. " Among the arcana of Paracelsus were preparations of mercury, antimony, lead, zinc, sulphur, borax, and his ' laudanum.' There were also tinctures and essences of plants. Extension of commerce brought into use about this time China root, sarsaparilla, and guaiacum. But at that early stage of chemistry the composition of simple remedies even was little understood, and empirical formulas abounded. Among specifics for various diseases were crabs' eyes, prepared pearls, calculous concretions, etc."

Such was the state of the medical profession in Timothy Bright's day. Classical learning, rather than natural science, appears to have been the characteristic of sixteenth-century physicians. Their professional opinions were founded mainly upon the *dogmata* of Galen, and their practice upon the complicated pharmacy of vegetable substances, interspersed with offensive animal matters, and directed by mixed traditions of experience and superstition. Many of them, too, were prone to look upon homely medicines with contempt, attaching undue importance to exotic remedies.

" I know that many are of opinion," wrote Burton forty years after, " our Northern simples are weak, unperfect, not so well concocted, of such force, as those in the Southern parts, not so fit to be used in physic, and will therefore fetch their drugs afar off : senna, cassia, out of Ægypt, rhubarb from Barbary, aloes from

Socotra: turbith, agaric, myrabolanes, hermodactils, from the East Indies, tobacco from the West, and some as far as China. . . . Many times they are over-curious in this kind, whom Fuchsius taxeth (*Instit.*, lib. i., sec. i., cap. i.), 'that think they do nothing except they rake all over India, Arabia, Æthiopia, for remedies, and fetch their physic from the three quarters of the world, and from beyond the Garamantes. Many an old wife or countrywoman doth often more good with a few known and common garden herbs, than our bombast physicians, with all their prodigious, sumptuous, far-fetched, rare, conjectural medicines;' without all question, if we have not these rare exotic simples, we hold that at home which is in virtue equivalent unto them, ours will serve as well as theirs, if they be taken in proportionable quantity, be fitted and qualified aright, if not much better, and more proper to our constitutions. . . . It was a thing that Fernelius much laboured in his French practice, to reduce all his cure to our proper and domestic physic. So did Martin Rulandus in Germany, and T.B. with us, as appeareth by a Treatise of his divulged in our tongue 1615,¹ to prove the sufficiency of our English medicines, to the cure of all manner of diseases."²

Timothy Bright's studies and travels had provoked his patriotism, and convinced him that there were few corrigible disorders that would not yield as readily to the influence of indigenous remedies as to any of the "rare, conjectural medicines" that distant lands could furnish. It was this conviction which prompted him to take pen in hand. His first book, which must have been written at Cambridge in those intervals of enforced leisure that every young doctor necessarily experiences when patients

¹ Burton obviously knew nothing of an earlier edition.

² *Anatomy of Melancholy*, part. 2, sect. 4, memb. 1, subs. 2.

are few and far between, is wholly devoted to this question of the adequacy of home-grown herbs and home-made physic. There being no press in Cambridge at that time, Bright took his manuscript to London, and early in 1580 an anonymous little book issued from the press of Henry Middleton, on behalf of Thomas Man, bearing this lucid though long-winded title: *A Treatise: Wherein is declared the sufficiencie of English Medicines, for cure of all diseases, cured with Medicine*. The exact date when it was licensed for the press is determined by the following entry in the register of the Company of Stationers:

“ix^o die ffebruarij [1580]

“Thomas Man. Licenced vnto him vnder th[e h]andes of the wardens *A Treatyce wherein is Declared the sufficiencie of English medycines for cure of all diseases cured with medicine* vj^d.”¹

The only apparent clue to the paternity of this little tractate—it consists of but forty-eight duodecimo pages—lies in the dedication, which begins: “To the right honourable, the Lord Zouch. T. B. wisheth prosperitie in this world, and eternall life in the world to come.” The author refers to the “especiall fauour” which his lordship had shown him, “both by benefites and otherwayes,” and begs his patron to accept “this my simple Newyeres gift, being a defence of our natieue medicines, with disprofe of those of foreigne nations.” “The question I once disputed in open place,” he continues, “and

¹ Arber's *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, vol. ii. (1875), p. 365.

being required of certaine to shewe my mind more at large therin, I thought good to communicate it with moe thē one or two, adding thereto my reasons to be examined by men of wisdome and vnderstanding." After expressing the pious hope that his lordship may be blessed with many good New Years, he subscribes himself : " Your honours bound in the Lord T. B."

Not a little dubiety seems to have arisen in the minds of bibliographers as to the identity of the writer veiling himself under these initials. Robert Watt, the laborious author of the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, was apparently the first to assign the book (of which he, too, had seen only the edition of 1615) to one Thomas Bedford. This was in 1824, and Thomas Bedford is credited with its authorship in successive bibliographies and catalogues during the next sixty years. In face of this formidable array of authorities, Halkett and Laing,¹ in 1888, had the temerity to reject Thomas Bedford in favour of Timothy Bright, whilst taking care to affix a non-committal " ? " to the latter's name ; but when Dr. Arber came to the book in preparing his *Bibliographical Summary of English Literature*,² he preferred to keep close to Watt, and Thomas Bedford was restored without a hint of questioning. The compiler of the *Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, United States Army*,³ would seem to have had his doubts, but with rigid impartiality has done his best to administer even-handed justice by entering the *Treatise*

¹ *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature*, vol. iv., p. 2648.

² Appended to *Transcript*, etc., vol. v. (1894), p. 116 (2649).

³ Second series, vol. ii. (1897), p. 799.

under the name of Thomas Bright. *In medio tutissimus ibis !*

When a conscientious bibliographer essays to investigate the rival claims of Bright and Bedford, he is met with a difficulty at the outset. Who was Thomas Bedford? No trace of such a person flourishing at a period reasonably near 1580 has been found after much searching, the only individual of that name within whose span of life the *Treatise* could by any stretch of probabilities be made to fit being a theologian prominent in religious controversy between 1620 and 1650, whose first known work appeared in 1621. That this is not the man Watt had in mind, however, is clear from the fact that his works are enumerated in a separate paragraph below the entry of the *Treatise of English Medicines*. Watt's reputation for accuracy stands deservedly high, and as a member of the medical faculty he might have been expected to take special pains over this particular department of his great work ; but it would not be the first occasion on which he has been caught tripping, and, all things considered, one is forced to the conclusion that Thomas Bedford existed only in his imagination.

What, then, are the claims of Timothy Bright to be regarded as the author? In the first place, it may be noted that Henry Middleton and Thomas Man, whose names appear on the title-page as those of printer and publisher respectively, were associated in the production of two of Bright's acknowledged works, *Hygieina* and *Therapeutica*—the former in 1582, and the latter a year afterwards. At the time the *Treatise* appeared Bright

A TREATISE:
Wherein is declared the
sufficiencie of English
Medicines , for cure of all
diseases , cured with
Medicine.

— 42. —



AT LONDON,
Printed by Henrie Middleton,
for Thomas Man.

ANNO. 1580.

was some thirty years old, a fully-qualified medical man, and well fitted by his studies abroad to judge as between the medicinal herbs there grown and those procurable in England. Moreover, Edward La Zouch, eleventh Baron Zouch (or Zouche) of Haringworth, to whom the book is dedicated, had been one of Bright's fellow-students at Trinity. He does not appear to have taken a degree, and has left on record the confession that "I passed my youth in little searching for knowledge, and in that time spent my patrimony"—a loss which is said to have been due to the Baron's passion for horticulture. He cultivated a "physic garden" in Hackney, and formed a friendship with Gerard the herbalist; it seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that the same propensity may have brought him into contact with Bright, and have led the latter to dedicate to him his maiden essay in authorship. Only a few years after Burton's allusion to T. B. and his book, Dr. Michael Stanhope (who also wrote under his initials), after dwelling upon the Englishman's singular perversity in valuing only those things which have to be obtained from abroad at great risk and expense, proceeds:

"Yet hath Doctor *Bright* (that learned Physitian) proued in a Tract (called the Practise of home Medicines) that our owne Countrey is of sufficient competencie, to supply vs with all vsefull Commodities, either for Dyet, or Phisicke, paralleling our ordinary natieue Simples, with the choicest drugs, and farthest fetcht Spiceries."¹

Here we have an undoubted allusion to the *Treatise* of 1580, though Stanhope's memory was at fault in the

¹ *Newes out of York-Shire* (1626), p. 3.

matter of the title. But what is perhaps the most conclusive argument in favour of Bright's claim remains to be stated. Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt, while engaged on his bibliographical collections, met with a copy of the first edition of the *Treatise* which had on its title-page, apparently in a contemporary hand, the words: "By D^r. Tim. Bright, Doctour of Physick & Parson of Methley & Barwick in Elmet," followed by a Greek motto. At the end of the dedicatory epistle, also, the name "Timothy Bright" was added in manuscript. Unfortunately, Mr. Hazlitt is unable to recall where he saw this copy, but, taken in conjunction with the facts mentioned above, and with other internal evidence, it must be considered as incontrovertible proof that the book was written by Timothy Bright.

It was with all a budding author's tender solicitude for his first venture into print—not unmixed with trepidation—that Bright submitted his case to the grand jury of the world, and anxiously awaited its verdict.

"I would not haue thee ignorant (gentle Reader)," he writes, "of the affection wherewith I set foorth this small treatise, it is not with any carping mind, I assure thee, against any person or state, or with desire to publish a newe toy, thereby to seeme to be some body. But considering y^e benefits which might arise of y^e truth of this matter, which seemeth to me most true, I was willing easily to yeeld vnto the requestes of certaine, who thought it good I shoulde make it cōmon with thee, which so much the more willingly I do, in that I hope this my enterprise shall be a means to prouoke others to deale with y^e same argument more plentifully, and kindle in vs a greater diligence to enquire after the medicines of our countrie yeelde, and more care to put them in practise."

The repeated reference to a request from "certaine" that he would publish his views can only mean that Bright had previously declared his opinions as set forth in this book, presumably in lectures or disputations at the University. He brings forward some more or less cogent arguments in support of his contention that the English soil produces all that is needed to alleviate the ailments of the English people.

"What can be more pleasant vnto thee, then the inioying of medicines for cure of thine infirmities, out of thy natiue soyle, and countrie, thy fielde, thy Ortcharde, thy Garden? and what more profitable vnto thee, then thereby to auoyde the infinite charges rising vppon the vse of straunge and foreigne medicines, whereby not onely thy substance is wasted, but thy health oftentimes greatly impaired? This is then that trueth which I commend vnto thee. As England aboundeth plentifully with all thinges necessary for thy maintenance of life, and preservation of health, so needeth it not, partly through natures instinct, partly by the industrie of men, sufficiencie of medicine to cure the sicknesses and infirmities, wherevnto our nation is subiect. . . . Hath God so dispensed his blessinges, that a medicine to cure the iawndyes, or the green sicknesse, or the Rheume, or such like, shoulde coste more oftentimes then one quarter of the substance that the patient is worth? . . . Is Physicke onely made for rich men, and not as well for the poorer sort? doth it only wait vpon princes palaces, and neuer stoupe to the cottage of the poore? doth it onely receiue giftes of the Kinge, and neuer thanks and prayers from him, that hath but thanks and prayers to bestowe?"

In the same strain he argues ingeniously that, navigation being restricted to a few nations, it would be

impossible to supply the wants of every patient by this means, and points out that the need for medicines arose before navigation was known. "Or if men beganne then first to be diseased, when they beganne to finde wayes in the Sea to those farre countries, doeth it not greatly detract from that prouidence whereby all things are guided, to lay the recouerie of mans health vpon the aduentures of Merchants? and the disease beeing in the one parte of the worlde, to haue the medicine in the other, yea, as farre distant as the East is from the West, and the life and death of a man to stande vppon a halfe-penie weight of Scammonie, or a dramme or twaine of Rhewbard." The doctor brings his *Treatise* to an end with an apology for its incompleteness: "But this I thought sufficient for the present time, breaking as it were the yse I hope to others, who hereafter shall more copiously deale in the same argument, or at the leaste, drawing the first lines (of a more large treatise to my selfe, which as leasure and opportunitie shall serue may hereafter be accomplished) this gentle reader I desire thee to accept in such sort, as I offer it vnto thee, euen with a minde to spende my dayes according to my small talent, for thy benefite." This intention of publishing a "more large treatise" seems never to have been carried out, unless that description can be applied to an edition of the same work issued in 1615, unaltered so far as the text is concerned, but supplemented by a collection of medicines arranged alphabetically.

While penning his little pamphlet and supervising its putting to press, Bright was neglecting certain of his obligations as a citizen—a lapse which enables us to

locate him more precisely. In the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Mary-the-Great, Cambridge—the University church—under date April 10, 1580, the name of “m^r d^r bright” is found among those of parishioners from whom the church rate for the past year was due ; but in 1581 he is entered as having paid 7s. 6d., and a like amount in the following year.¹ The omission of the ratepayer’s Christian name in every case might suggest a doubt as to his identity with the stenographer were it not that the parish register puts the matter beyond dispute, and throws some additional light on his domestic affairs at this period. It records that on the last day of July, 1580, “Titus Bright the sonne of Tymothy Bright was christened” ; that on March 23, 1581-82, a daughter was christened Elizabeth ; and that on April 14, 1583, another daughter was christened Susan.

It is thus certain that the doctor was living in the parish of Great St. Mary at least as early as 1579, and for some years after. The parish occupies the most central part of Cambridge. It contains the market-place, from which circumstance it was often called

¹ *Churchwardens’ Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*, ed. J. E. Foster, M.A. (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 8vo. series, no. xxxv., 1905), pp. 197, 199, 200, 201. It is not to be supposed that, in withholding payment of this rate, the doctor was actuated by conscientious objections, as was a more illustrious bearer of the name. Those who are familiar with the career of John Bright will not need to be reminded of his lifelong repugnance to the compulsory payment of church rates, and the vehemence of his opposition to the attempts made to levy such a rate on the inhabitants of Rochdale. Through his exertions the proposal came to naught, and the great tribune’s eloquence had not a little to do with the rousing of public opinion, by which the obnoxious impost was finally swept away.

"*parochia Sanctæ Mariæ ad Forum*," and encloses within its boundaries not only the town and shire halls, the seat of the government of the town, but also the senate-house, in which is transacted the public business of the University. It is traversed by a part of Trumpington Street, which separates the church from the senate-house, and which formerly was called High Street. The street running to the market-place, on the north side of the church, was known as Sherer's Lane, because it was occupied by the manufacturers of sheaths for swords, daggers, etc. The old market-place was quite unlike the existing one. It was an L-shaped area, the two arms of which represent the east and south sides of the present square, then known as Market Hill and Market Ward respectively; and in it were the market-cross, the fountain, the stocks, and the pillory. On the north-west side was a mass of houses crowded together in great confusion, extending into St. Mary's churchyard, and even built up against the walls of the chancel. This block of dwellings was divided only by a narrow lane, called Smith's Row, afterwards Pump Lane, from the pump which stood in the middle of it. The west side of the High Street also was occupied by houses and lanes; two of the latter are mentioned as running from it into the ancient Mill Street—Glomery Lane and Schools' Lane. Near by stood the church of St. Edward, memorable on account of the sermons preached in it by the reformers Barnes, Bilney, and Latimer. The accompanying *facsimile* from John Hamond's plan of Cambridge (1592) enables us to realize something of the Great St. Mary's parish of Bright's



GREAT ST. MARY'S PARISH, CAMBRIDGE, IN 1592.

(From a contemporary plan by John Hamond.)

day. Here it was that, in the midst of family cares, he pursued his professional and literary labours.

The reception accorded to his firstling must have been on the whole favourable, for within a short time after its publication we find him engaged upon a second and more elaborate work, this time written in Latin. It is a book in two parts, on the preservation and the restoration of health. The first part, entitled *Hygieina, id est de sanitate tuenda medicinæ pars prima*, is assigned in the British Museum catalogue to 1581; but it did not appear until the following year, as an entry in the register of the Stationers' Company proves:

“ vltimo Die marcij [1582]

“ Thomas Man. Licenced to him vnder th[e h]ande of master Dewce a booke intituled *De sanitate tuenda medicinæ pars prima Authore Timotheo Brighto medicinæ Doctore* vj^d.”¹

The preface to *Hygieina* confirms the supposition that its author gave medical lectures at Cambridge, for he states that he had been importuned to publish the notes from which he taught. More than a year elapsed before the appearance of the second part of the work, entitled *Medicinæ therapeutica pars; de dyscrasia corporis humani*, which is thus entered in the Stationers' register:

“ Decimo Sexto Die Augusti [1583]

“ Thomas Man / Licenced vnto him vnder the wardens handes *Medicinæ Therapeutica pars per Tymotheum Brightus* vj^d / ”²

¹ Arber's *Transcript*, etc., vol. ii., p. 409. ² *Ibid.*, p. 427.

The dedication of *Therapeutica* is dated “*Cantabrigia, ex ædibus meis xiiij. Martij, 1582*” [i.e., 1583]. Both parts were dedicated to Lord Burghley, as Chancellor of the University, and it is evident that Bright was personally acquainted with the Chancellor and his family. He praises the learning of Lady Burghley, and likens the “*domus Ceciliana*” itself to a University. “Cecil himself,” he declares, “has paid so much attention to medicine that in the knowledge of the faculty he may almost be compared with the professors of the art.” Beloe maintains that this work of Bright’s alone “entitles the author to a respectable place in the *Biographia* of our country, where, however, his name does not appear.” The part on poisons, where the flesh of the chameleon, the newt, and the crocodile is treated as three several varieties of poison, each requiring a peculiar remedy, has been cited as a fair specimen of its merit. The copy of *Hygieina* in the British Museum, it is worthy of note, bears the autograph of the founder of the Harleian Library, “*Humfredus Wanley*”; while that in the library of Cambridge University belonged to Dr. Thomas Lorkin, Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge from 1564 to 1591, who, with Bright, lived in the parish of Great St. Mary. Both *Hygieina* and *Therapeutica* were reprinted in one volume at Frankfort-on-Main in 1588-89 and 1598, and again at Mayence in 1647, “*cui accesserunt de Studiosorum sanitate libri III. Marsilii Ficini*.” The publication of these Continental editions insured the dissemination of the work among the learned of all nations.

About this time Cambridge regained the right to

print books for itself—a privilege which had been withheld for more than half a century—and Thomas Thomas, a Fellow of King's College, was appointed printer to the University. He secured a licence by Grace of the Senate in May, 1583, but, owing to the seizure of his press by the Stationers' Company of London, could not exercise his right until a second licence had been obtained in February, 1583-84. One of the very first books that he issued, if not actually the first, was from the busy pen of Timothy Bright. Its title was *In physicam Gulielmi Adolphii Scribonii, Post secundam editionem ab autore denuò copiosissimè adauctam, & in III. Libros distinctam. Animadversiones Timothei Brighti Cantabrigiensis, medicinæ Doctoris*. On the title-page is a crude cut of the University arms and the date 1584. The book is a collection of notes on the physical treatise of Scribonius,¹ but neither the original propositions of Scribonius, nor the comments and additions of Bright, are worth reading, says Dr. Norman Moore. In neither is there a single ray of the dawn of science which had already begun.

“In the library of the College of Physicians, in its beautiful original binding, is a copy of the *De Magnete* of William Gilbert, and on the same shelves are the *Animadversiones* of Bright. The two books appeared within twenty years of one another, their authors were at the University together and were members of the same faculty. Bright's Physic Work is a collection of definitions and corrections of definitions, of false analogies and of conclusions based upon antiquated, groundless propositions which had passed for scientific truths

¹ Scribonius' *Physica* was published at Frankfort, first in 1577, and again in 1579. In 1583 an enlarged edition was issued at Basle, and this last is the one reprinted and annotated by Bright.

in the days of the schoolmen. The treatise of Gilbert is mainly based upon observations, and, from the phenomena exhibited by artificial spherical magnets, he framed the hypothesis of the magnetism of the earth. . . . That the method of observation was beginning to assert itself is shown by the work of Gilbert ; but Bright wrote in the old way, in which definition and argument were thought to lead to the truths of Nature.”¹

Quite the most interesting part of the book to modern readers is the dedication, addressed to that “mirror of true knighthood,” Sir Philip Sidney. Bright had met him for the first time in the house of Sir Francis Walsingham at Paris, “*idq[ue] illa Gallicis Ecclesiis funesta tēpestate (cuius pars fui, & animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit) matutinis Parisiensibus.*” The peril to which both had been exposed on that never-to-be-forgotten occasion naturally created between them a bond of sympathy, severed only by Sidney’s heroic but untimely death. This dedication is dated “*Ipswicho. 16 Martij,*” [1583-84], a circumstance which would seem to indicate that Bright was living in Ipswich at the time. If so, it cannot have been for long. He was certainly residing in London in 1585, and that year witnessed an important event in his career, for his services to his profession—such as they were—were recognized by his election to the post of physician to the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew, an office held a quarter of a century later by no less a person than William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood.

¹ *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, vol. xviii. (1882), p. 340.

CHAPTER III

A LONDON HOSPITAL PHYSICIAN

TIMOTHY BRIGHT was the third regular physician to the famous hospital of St. Bartholomew—the oldest and, at that time, the largest in London. Founded in 1123 by Rahere, and refounded in 1544, after the dissolution of the monasteries, by Henry VIII., it was endowed by that monarch with a yearly income of five hundred marks, and handed over to the Corporation of London. It had then three surgeons, each with a salary of £18 a year, who were in daily attendance on the sick, for whose accommodation there were a hundred beds. There were also a matron and twelve nurses.

Thomas Vicary, serjeant-surgeon successively to Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and author of the first work on anatomy printed in the English language, took an active part in the superintendence of the hospital for some years; but the first physician proper appears to have been Roderigo Lopez, the supposed original of “the Jew that Shakespeare drew,” who for some time was Elizabeth’s chief physician, and eventually was hanged on suspicion of plotting to poison her. The second physician, and Bright’s immediate predecessor, was Dr. Peter Turner, son of the botanist William Turner. He held the office for

some four years, resigning early in 1585. It must be remembered that the office of physician, as in the case of all other places of emolument in the hospital, was granted in reversion, on the "decease or other departure" of the actual holder; and thus we find Bright applying for the post while Turner was still in office. At a meeting of the governors held on September 20, 1584, the following was entered on the minutes:

"This daye Timothy Bright Doctor of Phisicke brought Sr frauncis walsinghames letter to this courte for the havinge of the rome and place of m^r doctor Torn^r when he shall depte. And offereth to serve and practise vppon the poore of this house in Phisicke vntill such time as the same m^r D[r]. Torn^r shall depte. Order is therfore taken by this courte, that yf the said Timothye Bright will practise Phisick on the poore of this house, till m^r D[r]. Torn^r shall depte at his owne charge without any fee for the same to be paid by this house, that then yf the said mr Timothy Bright shalbe found fitt and meete for the rome, that then he shall have the same rome with house and fee therto belonging so longe as he shall well and honestlye behave him selfe in the same Rome."¹

Here, then, is clear evidence that the influence of Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom he was under so heavy a debt of gratitude already, was primarily responsible for Bright's election to this desirable post; although, as will presently appear, Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay—Elizabeth's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Treasurer of the Royal Household, and a Privy Councillor—were likewise instrumental in securing

¹ St. Bartholomew's MS. Journal, no. 2, fol. 223.

the place for the young practitioner. For the next month or two he applied himself assiduously to the duties allotted him, receiving no remuneration beyond a much closer insight into actual clinical work than he could have acquired elsewhere, and so became qualified to take sole charge of the patients when the then physician should resign. But notwithstanding Bright's election, towards the close of 1584 rumours of Turner's impending retirement brought a second candidate into the field, the College of Physicians resolving to apply for the physicianship on behalf of one of its members :

“ 1584, Decemb. xix.

“ Decretum est his comitiis, ut literæ quædam petitionariæ in gratiam ac favorem D[r]. Wootton scribantur, ad rectores et magistros Hospitii S. Bartholomei, in hanc sententiam ; scilicet, quoniam D[r]. Turner, illius hospitii jam medicus, intra hos paucos dies munus illud suâ sponte relicturus est, idcirco rogare nos, ut D[r]. Wootton, tum quia vir doctus est, et in medicinâ bene exercitatus, tum quia unus est ex nostri Collegii Societate, ad nostram petitionem in dicti Turnerilocum subrogetur.”

Accordingly, the following petition was indited :

“ To the Right Worshipful the Aldermen and Governors of the Hospitall of St. Bartholomew.

“ RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

“ Understanding that Mr. Dr. Turner is resolved to depart with the Physitian's roome of the Hospitall of St. Bartholomew, and of this his resolucion hath given warning unto your Wisedoms : We, as well for the charitable care that we have for the better furnishing of your said Hospitall in that behalf, as also for some other good respects, have thought good to co'mend

unto you for the same purpose Mr. Dr. Wootten, a man very well learned, one of this Society and Company, borne within the city, and of long and good practice in the same. Of whom if, at our request it shall please you to make good liking, we doubt not but that the sequale itself will right well declare how good and convenient a choice you have made therein. We are not herein to press yo^r Wisedoms any further than may stand with yo^r good pleasure. But yet if this our honest motion may take place, we shall think ourselves well respected, and that you have a good regard both of us and our priviledges in placing none other there but such as is of our Society, and therefore will be most ready and willing in what we may to requite yo^r curtesies. And for so much as that place hath oftentimes great and strange accidents and divers cases of importance not elsewhere usuall, if this our said College and Fellows maie be admitted to the same, we will be ready from time to time as occasion shall serve in all such matters of difficulty and moment, to allowe and impart unto him our best advice and conference—a matter to the poor sick and diseased of no small co'modity and comfort. And, albeit so noble and well governed a city as this is, is rather to give than take example by any other whatsoever, yet whereas in other hon^{ble} cities and towns in all Europe, where the like hospitalls are maintained, the Physitian is always provided out of the body and of the Society and College of the Physitions of the same city, we leave the consideration of this their discreet and hon^{ble} dealing herein to be rather thought upon and considered by yo^r Wisedoms than of us to be further urged. And so cōmit yo^r Worships to the good government of the Almightye.

“ At our College this vij. of January, 1584 [*i.e.*, 1585].

“ Yo^r Wor'ps assured Friendes,

“ THE PRESIDENT AND SOCIETY OF THE
COLLEGE OF PHYSITIONS.”

The result of Wotton's petition is not recorded in the *Annals* of the College, according to Dr. Munk, who adds: "Thus far I have been unable to discover it from other sources."¹ The hospital journal, however, shows that Wotton was never appointed; the coveted position was secured by Timothy Bright. A minute of the Court held on January 15, 1584-85, records the receipt of the College of Physicians' recommendation, and proceeds:

"Order is therfore taken by this court that the said D[r.] wootton shall have the rome and place of phisicon of this house from ladieday next coming wth the house and fee therto dew, in as large and ample mann^r as D[r.] Turn^r held the same, so long as he shall well & honestly vse himselfe therin."²

But the hopes of Wotton and his friends were doomed to disappointment, for on the following February 20 occurs this entry:

"This day m^r d: Bright made further sute to the govno^rs of this house, for the rome of the Phisicon of this house at the deptime of d: Turner accordinge to a fformer graunt to him made And hath pduced diu^rse letta^rs ffrom the Queenes ma^{ts} most honorable pyve counsell to the Gov^rno^rs of this house fo^r the same w^{ch} letta^rs weare redd at this corte and advisedly considered thereon Order is therefore taken by this corte That at the requeste of my L. Tresorer, S^r ffraunce wallsingham & S^r ffrauncis [*sic*] Myldmey by letters to vs directed, yt is agreed and fully concluded That the said D[r.] Bright shall have the next rome of the Phisicon after the deptime or goinge awaye of m^r Turner wth the

¹ *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians* (1878), vol. i., p. 70.

² Journal no. 2, fol. 228.

house & ffee thereto belonginge, soe longe as he shall well & honestly behave him selfe therein ; notwthstandinge any fform^r graunt made to any oth^r pson what-soeu^r.”¹

And the significance of the last sentence is emphasized by the entry which immediately follows, in which the grant to Wotton is rescinded “ ffor diu^rse consideracons to vs knowne ; And for that the saide D: wotton shall thinke himself gratefully vsed by this house ” the sum of ten pounds was awarded him by way of solatium.

The date of Bright's appointment has been given by Thompson Cooper and others as 1586, while Dr. Norman Moore, in his most recent work on St. Bartholomew's, puts it as early as 1583.² The minutes printed above, however, conclusively prove that he was elected to the reversion on February 20, 1584-85, and that his actual appointment followed about a month later. There is no evidence of his having been a member of the College of Physicians—as all the other physicians of St. Bartholomew's were—but that is perhaps due to the fact that there is a gap in the College *Annals* from 1572 to 1581, during which period he may have obtained a licence to practise in London. Graduates of Oxford and Cambridge (who were exempted from the jurisdiction of the College, in its first statutes, as regards England) had no special privilege to practise in the metropolis, though they could practise anywhere in the country, and often did so, without regard to the College. It is possible, of course, that Bright, living in St. Bartholo-

¹ Journal no. 2, fol. 230.

² *A Brief Relation of the Past and Present State of . . . St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1895), p. 32.

mew's as a resident physician, did not practise in the City, and so did not come under the jurisdiction of the College.

The petition on Wotton's behalf indicates that the physiciancy was looked upon as a post of no little responsibility, even in the sixteenth century, by reason of the "great and strange accidents and divers cases of importance" with which the doctor and his staff had to deal. The stipend attaching to it seems to us strangely inadequate—he received only 40s. a year, equivalent to about £16 of our money, for his livery—but in addition to this sum the doctor was given a residence and garden within the hospital, and a certain allowance of "billets and coales." Ralph Agas's map of London, which belongs probably to about 1560, shows that at that time the hospital consisted of a number of detached houses, or groups of houses, intersected by the narrow lanes or streets which formed the parish of St. Bartholomew-the-Less. The hospital stood just outside the City wall; instead of being, as now, in the heart of the metropolis, it was on the outskirts, and London proper stretched away towards the east. Just beyond Smithfield was the open country, although houses were springing up along the line of Holborn, the green fields extending westwards from somewhere about what is now the corner of Gray's Inn Road. No separate view of the hospital buildings of earlier date than 1720 is known to exist, but the site of the doctor's house may be determined pretty nearly by the fact that it was adjacent to Bartholomew Close, the garden abutting upon Christ's Hospital. So that it must have stood within a stone's-

throw of the gates of St. Bartholomew's in Little Britain. In Bright's day there were a number of houses with gardens attached to them within the hospital precincts, one of which was always occupied by the physician, until in 1599 or 1600 Dr. D'Oyley successfully applied for an additional £20 yearly in consideration of his giving up the house. Until quite recently the treasurer of the hospital was a resident officer, while the clerk, the hospitaller, and the steward still have houses within the gates, though their residences have long since been shorn of any semblance of a garden.

In his new position the doctor must have found ample scope for his energies, and unlimited opportunities for gaining experience in the practical details of his profession, St. Bartholomew's being from the first established for the relief of the sick poor, and not as a mere almshouse, like so many of our old hospitals. Probably it resembled more nearly a modern dispensary than a hospital, as the term is now understood. The nature of his duties may be gathered to some extent from the following "chardge," which, though first read before Harvey on his appointment in 1609, applies in its main provisions to the earlier "phisicons," except that the latter, being resident in the hospital, were in attendance daily on the patients.

*"The Chardge of the Phisicon of St. Bartholomewes
Hospitall.*

"PHISICON :

"You are here elected and admitted to be the Phisicon for the Poore of this hospitall, to p^rforme the chardge followinge, That is to say, one day in the weeke

at the leaste thorough the yeare, or oftner as neede shall requyer you shall come to this Hospitall, and cause the Hospitler, Matron, or Porter, to call before you in the hall of this hospitall such and soe many of the poore harboured in this hospitall, as shall neede the counsell & advise of the phisicon. And you are here requyred & desyred by us, in God his most holly name, that you shall endeavour yourselfe to doe the beste of your knoweledge in the profession of phisicke to the poore then p^rsente, or any other of the poore at any tyme in the weeke w^{ch} shalbe sent home unto you by the Hospitler or Matron for your counsell, wrytinge in a booke appoynted for that purpose, such medicines with their compounde and necessaries as apperteyneth to the apothecary of this house, to be provyded and made reddey for to be ministred unto the poore, every one in p^rticular, accordinge to his disease.¹ You shall not for favour, lucre or gaine, appoynte or write any thing for the poore, but such good and wholsome things as you shall thinke wth your best advise will doe the poore good, without any affeccion or respecte to be had to the apothecary. And you shall take noe gifte or reward of any of the poore of this house for your counsell. This you will promise to doe as you shall answeare before God, and as it becometh a faithfull phisicon, whom you chiefly ought to serve in this vocation, as by God called unto, and for your negligence herein, if you faile you shall render accompte, And soe we requyer you faithfully to promise in God his most holly name, to p^rforme this your chardge in the hearinge of us, with your beste endeavour as God shall enable you soe long as you shalbe phisicon to the poore of this hospitall."

According to Dr. Norman Moore, the present physician of St. Bartholomew's and the first living authority on its

¹ This regulation dates from 1591, when a book was purchased for Bright's use (*post*, p. 121).

history, the hall of the hospital in which the physician received patients was a spacious room, pulled down about 1728, with a large fireplace, to the fire of which Henry III. had granted a supply of wood from the forest of Windsor. Here he sat at a table, and the patients brought to him sat on a settle beside it, the apothecary, the steward, and the matron standing by. The surgeons discharged their duties in the wards, and the physician only went into them to see such patients as could not walk. In 1564 he had only eight out-patients under his care, but by 1670 the number had increased to forty.

For at least three days of the year the hospital staff must have had their hands pretty full. On August 24—a date which Bright had good reason to remember—and the two days following, was held the once famous Bartholomew Fair, so graphically portrayed for us by “rare” Ben Jonson, when West Smithfield was thronged with a motley crowd of hawkers, pedlars, showmen, stall-keepers, and holiday-makers of every type from the country round about. Until 1614 the streets were not even paved, and prior to that date the neighbourhood of the hospital is described as “a broken plain of mud, and of the filth of men and beasts. Rain, and the cattle brought thither for sale, had made the place often almost impassable; and so foul had been its general state that there were many who would even doubt the power of art to transform it into hard and level ground.”¹ From Smithfield, too, the Marian martyr fires, with which Bright was familiar enough through the pages of Foxe, even if his memory had not retained the impressions of

¹ H. Morley's *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair* (1859), p. 145.

early childhood, had thrown their lurid glare around for miles. As recently as 1575 two Dutch anabaptists had been burnt on the old ground, "with roaring and crying," despite the protests of Foxe, who was still living; while some thirty years later the same fate was to befall one Bartholomew Legate (name of ill omen!), who refused conformity to the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds. Yet that the district was no unfashionable one is clear from the circumstance that Sir Walter Mildmay, one of Bright's patrons, and brother-in-law of Sir Francis Walsingham, with other men of note, resided in the parish of St. Bartholomew-the-Great, and at his death in 1589 he was buried in the church.

Bright's near neighbourhood to Sir Walter may help to account for the part he took in the founding of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. On January 11, 1583-84, Mildmay had secured from the Queen a charter empowering him "to erect, found, and establish for all time to endure, a certain college of sacred theology, the sciences, philosophy, and good arts." Accordingly, he installed four scholars, three fellows, and a master—Dr. Laurence Chaderton—while subsequent benefactions increased the fellowships to fourteen and the scholarships to twenty. Among the six fellows admitted next after the original three, within a year of the foundation, was one William Bright,¹ who, as subsequent events prove, was none other than the brother of Timothy. He had been a student at Christ's, where he proceeded

¹ E. S. Shuckburgh's *Emmanuel College* (1904), p. 39. Cf. *Emmanuel College: Commemoration of the 300th Anniversary of the Foundation* (1884), p. 61 note.

B.A. in 1582-83,¹ and as that was the college at which both Mildmay and Chaderton had been educated, the reason of his election to a fellowship is not far to seek. He "commenced" M.A. at Emmanuel in 1585-86, and B.D. in 1593. Emmanuel was the first of the Protestant foundations, and there is an oft-quoted story, for which Fuller is responsible, to the effect that Mildmay, himself a staunch Puritan, on coming to the Court after the opening of the new college, was addressed by Elizabeth in these words: "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation." "No, madam," he replied; "far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws; but I have set an acorn, which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof."

Not until October 1, 1585, did Mildmay deliver to the Master of Emmanuel its first statutes, which he had confirmed and signed. In them he urged the fellows to special watchfulness in order to extirpate "papistical heresies." A clause provided that no county should be represented by more than one fellowship at a time; residence was made obligatory on the fellows, but they were warned against regarding the College as a perpetual abode, being required to vacate their fellowships a year after taking the degree of D.D. These statutes were attested by Mildmay's two sons, Anthony and Humphrey, John Hammond, LL.D.,

¹ There is no record of his entry at Christ's, but Mr. J. Willis Clark, the late registry of the University, informed the writer that a William Bright matriculated as a pensioner of Pembroke College April 1, 1579; so he had probably migrated from the older college.

Thomas Byng, Master of Clare Hall, William Lewyn, LL.D., Timothy Bright, and Edmund Downing, whose signatures are appended to a note recording the formal handing over to Chaderton. Bright's signature reproduced on the cover is from a photograph taken by kind permission of the Governing Body of the College, in whose possession the original document now is.¹

The first intimation we have of Bright's being actually in London is by way of an entry in the register of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, the church within the hospital, which records that on February 9, 1585 [*i.e.*, 1586], was baptized "Paule Brighte the sonne of Tymothie Brighte, doctor of phisicke." Paul Bright lived only one short month after his baptism, and was buried in the hospital church on March 10. Only a few days after this event we get a glimpse of the physician at work. An entry in the minute-book of the hospital, dated March 26, 1586, exhibits him in the rôle of arbiter between apothecary and surgeons, and serves to illustrate the varied nature of his duties :

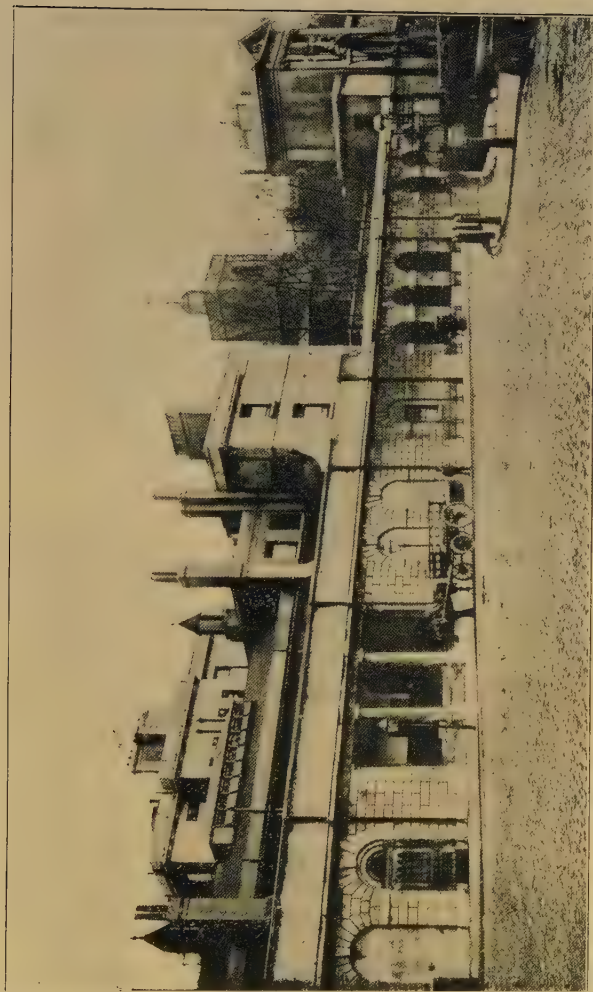
" This day complaint hath bene made by th[e] apothecary of this house, that he is charged wth diu^rs ointementes, pulteses & plasters for the poore w^{ch} he ought not to doe, and further he alleadgeth, that the same belongeth to the surgions to provide and not the pothecarye, w^{ch} complaint being hard by this court the gouⁿors immediately caused m^r Bright, the phisicon to this house to deliue^r his opinion therin w^{ch} of them ought to finde the ointemente plasters, & pulteses for the poore m^r Bright after the hering of the cause deliue^reth his opinion that

¹ Cf. Sloane MS. 1739, printed in *Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (1852), vol. iii., p. 523.

the Apothecarye is onely but to ffinde such medicines & drinckes as are ministred inwardely unto any of the poore, and not otherwise, And the Surgions to ffinde all other stuffe, as plasters ointements, pulteses & such like things for the poore: as are to be ministred outwardly. . . .”

Upon which the court gave order accordingly, directing both parties to furnish their own materials. There is no mention of an apothecary to the hospital earlier than 1567, and before the doctor's pronouncement his duties do not appear to have been very clearly defined. But the day is long past since the surgeons provided at their own expense the materials for dressing the wounds of patients, and the aggrieved apothecary—doubtless John Napper, who had been appointed on October 23, 1585—would rub his eyes in awed amazement could he revisit the scene of his labours at the present time, when the work of the apothecaries' shop has increased to such an extent that it employs a large staff of dispensers, who make up as many as a thousand prescriptions in one day for the use of the out-patients alone.

Although Bright's next literary production must have been revolved in his mind for some time previously, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the feelings engendered by his recent bereavement found expression therein to some extent. From his house in "litle S. Bartlemewes by Smithfield," he now sent forth *A treatise of melancholie, containing the causes thereof, & reasons of the strange effects it worketh in our minds and bodies: with the phisicke cure, and spirituall consolation for such as haue thereto adioyned an afflicted conscience.*



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, FROM WEST SMITHFIELD.

The difference betwixt it, and melancholie with diuerse philosophicall discourses touching actions, and affections of soule, spirit, and body: the particulars whereof are to be seene before the booke. This work is dedicated to Peter Osborne, Keeper of the Privy Purse to Edward VI., an ardent supporter of the Reformation, and highly esteemed as a lover of learning and learned men. The dedication is dated May 23, 1586, and in it our author explains the scope of his work :

“ I haue layd open,” he says, “ howe the bodie, and corporall things affect the soule, & how the body is affected of it againe : what the difference is betwixt natural melancholie, and that heauy hande of God vpon an afflicted conscience, tormented with remorse of sinne, & feare of his iudgement : with a Christian resolutiō according to my skill for such as faint vnder that heauie burthen. And that I might to the vttermost of my endeuor (as other businesse wold permit me) comfort thē in that estate most comfortles, I haue added mine aduise of phisicke helpe : what diet, what medicine, and what other remedie is meete for persons oppressed with melancholie feare, & that kind of heauinesse of hart. . . . This my slender endeuour I dedicate to your name right worshipfull M[r.] Osbourne, to whom besides I am particularly beholdinge, your good fauouring of vertue and learning in certaine of my acquaintance of the best marke hath moued me to geue this signification howe readie learning is to honor her fauorers : she hath many daughters, and they be all knit in loue.”

The treatise itself is addressed to a supposed friend whom the author calls “ M,” in order, as he says, that it might be more familiar than it otherwise would have

been ; and he further adds : “ I write it in our mother tong that the benefit (how small soeuer it be) might be more common.” The book is occupied as much with metaphysics as with medicine, and the later chapters are concerned almost exclusively with religious melancholy. Bleeding, purging, vomits—these are the cardinal components of the treatment he prescribes for those of hypochondriacal proclivities ; while as preventive measures he advocates the avoidance of too close study and careful attention to diet.

The house of a person of melancholy disposition should be cheerful and light, his apparel decent and comely, nor should any kind of seemly personal ornament be omitted. Brooches, chains, and rings may have their use, “ with such like ornament of jewel as agreeth with the ability and calling of the melancholicke, garnished with precious stones that are said to have virtue against vain fears and baseness of courage.” The carbuncle for virtue he considers the chief of stones ; the calcedony has power to put away fear and heaviness of heart, to clear the spirits, and chase away fantastical melancholy visions ; whilst the ruby, the jacinth, and the turquoise have all their particular attributes. The house should be adorned with pictures of good and fresh colours ; but of all ornaments of house and home he esteems a pleasant garden and orchard, with a lively spring, as “ aboue all domesticall delight, and meetest for the melancholie heart and braine.”

He tries to show how the disorders of the body are reflected in the mind without impairing or limiting its operations, the body communicating to the mental

faculty "such a disposition, and such discontentment, as a false stringed lute giueth to the musitian : or a rough and euill fashioned pen to the cunning writer : which only obscureth, the shew of either art, & nothing diminisheth of that faculty, which with better instruments, would fully content the eye with a faire hand, & satisfie the eare with most pleasant and delectable harmonie." And in discussing how the mind performs its various functions by a single operation he instances the skill of an artist, who, by the use of different pencils, can trace a line so fine as to be hardly discernible, even when close at hand ; another so "grosse" as to be visible at a great distance.

"The same appeareth in the art of musick, which being attained vnto, but one facultie, yet is it the same in all the kindes of moodes & variety of tune, and time : although the practise be diuerse. Euen so the soule¹ hath a facultie one, single, and essential, notwithstanding so many sundry partes are performed, in the organically bodies, as we dayly put in practise."

The frequency of his allusions to the musical art, and the knowledge of its technicalities he displays, would alone suffice to convict our author of having fallen under the spell of its allurements, apart altogether from the external confirmation which his will supplies. There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that, in citing for the purpose of his argument the cases of a false-stringed lute and a badly-shaped quill, he was speaking from personal experience : if, indeed, in the eager practice of "characterie," which was now occupying no small

¹ "Soul" and "mind" are used by Bright as synonymous terms.

share of his attention, he had found his progress retarded from the cause named, it is not difficult for the present-day shorthand writer, whose much-advertised self-filling fountain-pen of the latest pattern has failed him at a critical moment, to believe that such an experience might provoke in his breast a little mild "discontentment."

One more characteristic passage from this book must be quoted, where, to illustrate his argument "How the soule by one simple faculty performeth so many and diuers actions," he describes the way in which the complex movements of a watch proceed from a single motion :

"We see it euident in automaticall instrumentes, as clockes, watches, and larums, how one right and straight motion, through the aptnes of the first wheele, not only causeth circular motion in the same, but in diuers others also : and not only so, but distinct in pace, and time of motion : some wheeles passing swifter then other some by diuers rases : now to these deuises, some other instrument added, as hammer and bell, not only another right motion springeth thereof, as the stroke of the hammer, but sound also oft repeated, & deliuered also at certaine times by equall pauses, and that either larum or houres according as the parts of the clocke are framed. To these if yet moreouer a directory ha[n]d be added, this first, & simple, & right motion by weight or straine, shall seme not only to be author of deliberate sound, and to counterfet voice, but also to point with the finger as much as it hath declared by sound. Besides these we see yet a third motion with reciprocation in the ballance of the clock. So many actions diuerse in kinde rise frō one simple first motion by reason of variety of ioynte in

one engine. If to these you add what wit cā devise, you may find all the motion of heauen with his planets counterfetted, in a small modil, with distinction of time and season, as in the course of the heauenly bodies. And this appeareth in such sorte as carie their motion within them selues. In water works I haue seene a mill driuen with the winde, which hath both serued for grist, and auoiding of riuers of water out of drowned fens and marishes, which to an American ignorant of the deuise, would seme to be wrought by a liuely actiō of euery part, and not by such a generall mouer as the wind is, which bloweth direct, and foloweth not by circular motion of the mill saile. Now if this be brought to passe in artificiall practises, & the variety of action infer not so many faculties, but meere dispositions of the instruments: let the similitude serue to illustrat that vnto you, wherto the reasons before alleadged, may with more force of proof induce you."

Students of divinity cannot fail to be struck by the resemblance between this passage and the famous watch illustration of William Paley. It is now generally admitted that the author of *Natural Theology* borrowed many of his images and some of his arguments from previous writers, and Paley's watch has been traced to a dozen different sources. Among them the *Treatise of Melancholy* does not seem to have been included, but it is evident that the same thought from which that admired divine reasoned so ably and so forcibly was present with Bright when he drew his analogy between the workings of a watch or clock and the actions of the human mind; and, curiously enough, Paley's watermill has its counterpart in Bright's windmill.

Bright entertained at this time a lofty conception of

the dignity of the medical character, for he quotes with approval Galen's *dictum* that "a physician ought to be a philosopher, the best philosopher maketh the best physician, neither ought any to be admitted to touch so holy thinges, that hath not passed the whole discipline of liberall sciences, and washed himselfe pure and cleane in the waters of wisdome, and vnderstanding." Such a lay handbook as *Every Man his own Physician* he would have repudiated with scorn, and he cautions his readers not to meddle with the mysteries of his art. "For," says he, "medicine is like a toole & instrument of the sharpest edge, which not wisely guided, nor handled with that cunning which thereto appertaineth, may bring present perill, in steade of health." He concludes with a warning against those "masked theeues & murtherers," who, whilst shirking honest labour, fed upon the simplicity of the people, and made a pretence of physic the cloak of their idleness, offering his book as "a rule and square to try them by."

There were two editions of Bright's *Treatise* in 1586; one printed by Thomas Vautrollier, "dwelling in the Black-Friers," the other by John Windet. That Vautrollier's was *editio princeps* is shown by the fact that it contains a leaf of "Faults escaped in the printing," the faults being corrected in Windet's edition. The latter appears in the Stationers' Register as follows:

"24 Die Octobris [1586]

"Master Byshop Receaved of them for printinge a
 Warden *treatise of melanctholie* sett furth by
 John Wyndett. master Doctour Bright

[no sum stated]

Memorandum that master Doctour Bright hath promised not to medle with augmenting or alteringe the said book vntill th[e] impression which is printed by the said John Windet be sold¹

A copy of the Windet edition in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has on the title-page the inscription: "Edm. Bright his book," and on the last page is written: "Edmond Bright is the trew possessor of this book this 7 day of —? 1626." A third edition, "newly corrected and amended," was printed by William Stansby in 1613, the book having been made over to him two years before by Windet, to whom Stansby had served seven years' apprenticeship.²

Although it can have added little to the gaiety of nations at the time of its appearance, Bright's *Melancholy* is characterized by Dr. Moore as "rather an amusing treatise," and such it is, doubtless, to modern medical readers. It displays, however, a good deal of recondite learning, and may well have suggested to Robert Burton his famous *Anatomy*, dear to the hearts of bluff old Dr. Johnson and the gentle Lamb, which was being written five or six years before its publication in 1621. Mr. A. H. Bullen thinks that Burton was indebted to his predecessor only "to some slight extent"; but a comparison of the two works discloses a similarity of plan which can hardly be the result of

¹ Arber's *Transcript*, vol. ii., p. 457. The non-appearance in the register of the edition printed by Vautrollier is accounted for by the fact that there is a *lacuna* from April 29 to June 27, 1586, no books having been entered between those dates. Bright's *Melancholy* was one of the last books printed by Vautrollier, and one of the first printed by Windet.

² Arber's *Transcript*, vol. ii., p. 173; vol. iii., p. 466.

accident, and the subjoined list of chapter-headings from Bright, side by side with some of Burton's section-headings, as tabulated by Dr. Edward Rimbault,¹ is instructive :

Treatise of Melancholy,
1586.

1. How diversely the word Melancholy is taken.

2. The causes of naturall melancholy, and of the excesse thereof.

3. Whether good nourishment breede melancholy, by fault of the body turning it into melancholy: and whether such humour is found in nourishments, or rather is made of them.

4. The aunswere to objections made against the breeding of melancholicke humour out of nourishment.

6. The causes of the increase and excesse of melancholicke humour.

7. Of the melancholicke excrement.

9. How melancholie worketh fearful passions in the mind.

10. How the body affecteth the soule.

Anatomy of Melancholy,
1621.

Definition of Melancholy : name, difference.

The causes of melancholy.

Customs of dyet, delight, appetite, necessity : how they cause or hinder.

Dyet rectified in substance.

Immediate cause of these precedent symptoms.

Of the matter of melancholy.

Symptomes or signes in the mind.

Of the soul and her faculties.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, first series, vol. ix., pp. 191, 192 (March 4, 1854).

15. Whether perturbations rise of humour or not, with a division of the perturbations.

Division of perturbations.

17. How melancholie procureth feare, sadnes, despaire, and such passions.

Sorrow, fear, envy, hatred, malice, anger, &c. causes.

18. Of the unnaturall melancholie rising by adjustion: how it affecteth us with diverse passions.

Symptomes of head-melancholy.

19. How sickness and yeares seeme to alter the minde, and the cause: and how the soul hath practise of senses separated from the body.

Continent, inward, antecedent, next causes, and how the body works on the mind.

20. The accidents which befall melancholie persons.

An heap of other accidents causing melancholy.

21. How melancholie altereth the qualities of the body.

Distemperature of particular parts.

28. How melancholy causeth both weeping and laughing, with the reasons why.

Causes of these symptomes [*i.e.*, bashfulness and blushing].

31. How melancholie altereth the naturall workes of the body: juice and excrement.

Symptomes of melancholy abounding in the whole body.

32. Of the affliction of conscience for sinne.

Guilty conscience for offence committed.

34. The particular difference betwixt melancholie and the afflicted conscience in the same person.

How melancholy and despair differ.

35. The affliction of mind : to what persons it befallerh, and by what means.

Passions and perturbations of the mind : how they cause melancholy.

37. The cure of melancholie : and how melancholicke persons are to cure themselves in actions of minde, sense, and motion.

Cure of melancholy over all the body.

38. How melancholicke persons are to order themselves in their affections.

Perturbations of the mind rectified.

39. How melancholicke persons are to order themselves in the rest of their diet, and what choice they are to make of ayre, meate, and drinke, house, and apparell.

Dyet rectified ; ayre rectified, &c.

40. The cure by medicine meete for melancholicke persons.

Of physick which cureth with medicines.

41. The manner of strengthening melancholicke persons after purging: with correction of some of their accidents.

Correctors of accidents to procure sleep.

Even if he was not directly inspired by it, "Democritus Junior" undoubtedly gleaned from Bright's treatise many useful hints ; and he is careful to acknowledge his indebtedness.

"Not that I find fault with those which have written of this subject before," he protests, "as Jason Pratensis, Laurentius, Montaltus, T. Bright, &c. They

have done well in their several kinds and methods ; yet that which one omits, another may haply see ; that which one contracts, another may enlarge. To conclude with Scribanus, ' that which they had neglected, or profunctorily handled, we may more thoroughly examine ; that which is obscurely delivered in them, may be perspicuously dilated and amplified by us : ' and so made more familiar and easie for every man's capacity, and the common good, which is the chief end of my discourse.'¹

Burton refers repeatedly in the course of his *magnum opus* to the *Treatise of Melancholy*, and occasionally quotes from it by way of illustrating his arguments.²

But a far greater honour even than the prompting of " that fantastic old great man " to pen his inimitable *Anatomy* has been claimed for Timothy Bright's little work on this subject, and some assertions have been made with regard to it which border perilously on the extravagant. " It would be an interesting task," wrote the late William Blades, " to compare the Mad Folk of Shakespeare, most of whom have the melancholy fit, with *A Treatise of Melancholy*, which was probably read carefully for press by the youthful poet."³ This rather startling conjecture is based on the hypothesis that when he came to London, " poor, needy, and in search of employment," the young Stratford rustic was im-

¹ Part. 1, sect. 1, memb. 1, subs. 3.

² On the flyleaf of the British Museum copy of Thomas Walkington's *Optick Glasse of Hvmors*, which deals, *inter alia*, with melancholy and its treatment, someone has pencilled : " The precursor of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*." But as the book was not published before the seventeenth century—no date earlier than 1605 has been assigned to it—Bright's antedates it by a couple of decades.

³ *Shakspeare and Typography* (1872), p. 35.

mediately taken into the service of Vautrollier the printer, through the influence of his fellow-townsmen, Richard Field, "perhaps as a press-reader, perhaps as an assistant in the shop, perchance as both." The arguments brought forward in support of this contention, though plausible, can scarcely be held to justify the claim that Shakespeare, in the capacity of "reader" to Vautrollier, passed the proof-sheets of Bright's book on melancholy; and speculation on the point is useless now.

However, William Blades is by no means alone in believing that Shakespeare's immortal dramas owe something to Bright's little book. It has been pointed out that the phrase "discourse of reason," to which Hamlet gives utterance in his first passionate apostrophe (i., 2, 150), and "generally supposed to be exclusively Shakespearean," occurs in Bright's *Epistle Dedicatorie*, where he remarks: "I haue interlaced my treatise besides with disputes of Philosophie that the learned sort of them, and such as are of quicke conceit, & delited in discourse of reason in naturall things, may find to passe their time with."¹ And it would be a matter of no great difficulty, probably, to adduce further instances tending to show that the greatest dramatist of all time was under obligations to Timothy Bright's most popular work. In his paper "On the Physiological Basis of Shakespeare's Psychology,"² Professor Richard Loening, of Jena University, declares it to be highly probable that Shakespeare knew and

¹ *Notes and Queries*, first series, vol. vii., p. 546 (June 4, 1853).

² *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Jhrg. 31 (1895), pp. 4, 5.

made use of the book (" *Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass der Dichter dieses Buch gekannt und benutzt hat* "); and argues that in his masterly portrayals of the melancholic temperament in *Hamlet* and other plays, the poet has drawn largely upon his knowledge of the *Treatise of Melancholy*. Indeed, he finds in it the key to Shakespeare's entire physiological psychology, the atmosphere in and under the influence of which his works had their birth.

Another German writer, Dr. Curt Dewischeit, unhesitatingly affirms that " it is now established beyond doubt that Shakespeare read this book ; it had furnished him with many beautiful and carefully studied traits for the delineation of the psychologic processes, as well as for the development and dramatic creation of his characters. It was through Bright that Shakespeare first obtained a profound insight into physiological psychology."¹ The doctor is on firmer ground, perhaps, when he avers that the name of Timothy Bright must have been familiar to the "sweet swan of Avon," and that the latter's was also known to Bright when Shakespeare was at the zenith of his fame.

Quite the most staggering theory on this subject, however, is one which has been set up within the last few years, and which seeks to prove that both the *Treatise* of 1586 and the *Anatomy* of 1621 came from the same pen, that the writer assumed the names of Bright and Burton (among others), and that his true name was—Francis Bacon ! This amazing proposition

¹ *Shakespeare und die Anfänge der englischen Stenographie* (1897), p. 38 et seq. ; *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Jhrg. 35 (1898), p. 216 et seq.

is based upon the supposed discovery of a cipher story running through much of the literature of the Elizabethan age, in which Bacon is said to reveal himself as the author of these and a number of other works hitherto accepted by a too-credulous world as the productions of those whose names appear on their respective title-pages. The key to the cipher, or ciphers, lies in certain italicized words distributed throughout the original editions of the works in question so as to form a complete narrative. The discoverer and elucidator of the cipher, Mrs. Elizabeth Wells Gallup, of Detroit, U.S.A., in her "Explanatory Introduction" to the book in which the revelation is made known, gravely writes :

"Perhaps the most remarkable results, and certainly the most unexpected, and greatest surprise, came from deciphering *De Augmentis*, and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The history of the *Anatomy* is peculiar. It is said to appear in the catalogue of the British Museum under the fictitious name of T. Bright, about the year 1587, or when Burton was only about ten years old. Greatly enlarged, it appears in 1621, and again in 1624, and again in 1628, under the name of Robert Burton, a person of whom little is known, except as the supposed author of this work alone, and as a living example of the melancholy which it so felicitously describes. The Cipher mentions both Bright and Burton as names under which Bacon wrote the book, and also that the different editions contain a different Cipher story."¹

Two years after this was written, in a "Publisher's Note" to the third edition of Mrs. Gallup's book, the

¹ *The Bi-literal Cypher of Sir Francis Bacon discovered in his Works* (1899), p. xiii.

reader is informed that parts of the cipher story are found in the *Treatise of Melancholy*, among many other works. Of this, he is told, "two editions were issued in the same year, with differing Italics. The first ends with an incomplete cipher word which is completed in the second for the continued narration, thus making evident which was first published, unless they were published at the same time." It has already been shown that Vautrollier's was the first edition. No allusion is made here to the edition of 1613, nor is any explanation offered to account for the palpable dissimilarity in style and matter between the volumes which bear the name of Timothy Bright and those issued as the work of Robert Burton. Compared with the Leicestershire parson's pleasantly discursive *olla podrida*, the doctor's essay, whatever merits it may have, is tedious, colourless, and jejune; certainly it never could have fetched the sluggish Johnson out of bed two hours before his usual time for rising. Presumably Burton's admission of obligations to Bright is to be considered a part of the plot—an ingenious device of the real author calculated to throw the more astute of his readers off the scent! But the fallacies and inconsistencies of this part of Mrs. Gallup's story are so self-evident as to carry their own refutation; it is safe to say that the lady will find few, even amongst the most ardent of Baconians, prepared to swallow so tough a morsel as she has here invited them to digest.

CHAPTER IV

THE "NEW SPRONG YMPE"

SHORTLY before Bright had sent his *Treatise of Melancholy* to the press, a letter was addressed by Vincent Skinner, his old Cambridge mentor, "To my very loving frend, Mr. Michaell Hicks, At Lincolns Inne." After referring to certain business matters, Skinner proceeds :

"D[r]. Bright hath a desire to be insinuated to the fa^{ble} acquaintance of M^r Rob. Cecill.¹ He hath begynne by dedicacon of some of his books to owe hono^r to my L[ord's]² house. He was sometime, as you also know, vnder my charg in Cambridg, when I was redie, according to that habilitie I then had, and in y^t state his friends required, to do him the best good by waie of instruction y^t I could, whereof having geven me cause of comfort by his good proceedings, I reteyn still the same good will to do him the best good I maie. He hath enterprised a matter of rare noveltie and effected it, whereof I made report to m^r Robert. He is desirous to haue some effectuall frute of his travayle, having charg of [a] familie and his profession yelding him small mayntenaunce as yet, till he haue gotten better acquaintance, and onely desireth the recō-

¹ Burghley's son, afterwards first Marquis of Salisbury.

² *I.e.*, Lord Burghley's.

mendation of his state to my L[ord] for some priviledg to be geven him by hir mat^{ie} for the onely teaching of this his own invention, and the printing of such things as shall be taken by that means as also of his own travayles in his profession, matters reasonable in my pore opinion to be required, and wherein there shold be no difficultie to obteyn, considering how some other states, to incourage their own people, and to take vse of their Laboures, propound rewards and compound wth the Inventors of any serviceable feats.

“ The Art he will teach m^r Robert. And when he hath taught it to his brother who onely hath the practise, he will bring him then to the Court, or to his lodging at London to make proof of it, to th[e] intent he maie the better report uppon experience. This paper included will shewe it, though it can not deliver it. w^{ch} conteyneth the whole ep^{le} to Titus. a matter of great vse and comoditie, to couch much matter in so short compasse and to take a speech from any mans mouth as he delivereth it, w^{ch} both yo^r Lawiers in yo^r Courthowes, and students in the vniu^rsitie maye make good vse of.

“ I praye yow for that I found m^r Robert in good dispos^{on} to see the practise, and to geve the author his good word furthermore, take some time to know when his pleasure maie be to apoint the doctor to attend on him, and lett the partie understand of it, whom yow maie fynd nere St Bartillmewes hospitall where he hath a howse, and maie provoke him by this curtesie to do as much for you as Mr. Babingtons Barber had done in a lyke case of using his art and facultie by requitall.

“ And thus I cōmend me hartely to yow, desiring yow to recōmend my pore service to m^r Robert as of one who according to that duetie and devotion he oweth to the Roote beareth a lyke affectionate good will to the braunch, w^{ch} he will also be redie to pursue and performe wth

every serviceable office he maye to his vttermost pore ablitie. Enfield howse, this xxxth of March, 1586. Yo^r assuredly assured.

“VIN. SKYNNER.”¹

This remarkable document, the original of which is preserved among the Burghley papers in the British Museum, is of the greatest interest, containing as it does the first mention of the invention which has kept alive the name of Timothy Bright to this day. It shows that he had contrived a scheme of quick and compendious writing—the germ of the now highly-developed art which we call shorthand—as early as the spring of 1586, that he was then imparting a knowledge of it to one of his brothers, and incidentally that his young and growing family was proving rather a severe drain on his resources. Michael Hicks, the addressee of the letter—whose name survives in the present head of the family, Lord St. Aldwyn, formerly Sir Michael Hicks-Beach—was the son of a wealthy Cheapside mercer, and one of Burghley's two confidential secretaries; and the cordial nature of his relations with Vincent Skinner² is

¹ Lansdowne MS. 51, art. 27.

² Though our great national dictionary of biography knows him not, some interesting particulars of Skinner's life are given in the *Preston Chronicle* dated August 15, 1868. He was the son of John Skinner, of Bolingbroke, Lincs. He matriculated a pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, on May 21, 1557, graduated B.A. 1560, and M.A. 1564, having been admitted Minor Fellow of the college September 29, 1561 (?1562), and Major Fellow May 13, 1564. In 1569 he married “Awdrye, widow of John Man,” at Bolingbroke. She was daughter of Richard Ogle, of Pinchbecke, and his wife Beatrice, sister of Sir Anthony Cooke, the preceptor of Edward VI. Sir Anthony's daughter Mildred was the second wife of Lord Burghley, and mother of Sir Robert Cecil; so that Vincent Skinner's marriage

clearly seen in their correspondence. Only a few years previously the latter had spoken of Hicks in terms of warm regard as of one "whose well-being and preferment I wish as myne own"; and among the Lansdowne MSS. are many letters testifying that the feeling was reciprocal, the genuineness of Hicks' friendship being endorsed by timely assistance when Skinner found himself in pecuniary difficulties. The two men had much in common: in Cambridge they had been together at Bright's *alma mater*, Trinity; each was now in the Lord Treasurer's employ; and both were afterwards knighted by James I. On leaving college, Hicks was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, where he was studying law when Skinner's note reached him.

It is not difficult to reconstruct in imagination the

with Lady Burghley's first cousin goes far to explain his intimacy with the Cecil family. He entered Parliament in 1571 as Member for Truro, and sat for that town until 1585, when he was returned for Barnstaple. In the same year he was appointed Receiver of the "Honour" of Bolingbroke, and, retiring from Barnstaple, was, at the request of Lord Burghley, elected M.P. for Boston in 1586, 1588, and 1592. In the last year he became Member for Boroughbridge, and in 1604 for Preston, which place he represented until 1614. Skinner was for some time secretary to Lord Burghley (who as early as 1582 calls him his "servant"), and resided at Enfield House, Middlesex. Among the manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield is a copy of Lord Burghley's Letters Patent, dated September 25, 1593, appointing Vincent Skinner for life to the office of Writer of Tallies and Counter Tallies on the death of Robert Petre; and letters from him to Burghley and to Sir Robert Cecil in the same year show him to have been connected with the Receipt of the Exchequer. He had then a house in "the Friars" (*Historical MSS. Commission Calendar of the Manuscripts . . . at Hatfield House*, part iv. (1892), pp. 377, 399, 401, 402). In the Cambridge University library is a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, given by Skinner in 1589. He was knighted by James I. in 1603, and died early in 1615, not many months before his quondam protégé.

chain of events which led up to the writing of the letter. The necessity of providing for the clamant needs of a wife and four young children would compel our doctor to cast about for some means of augmenting his slender income of forty shillings a year, and the lucrative possibilities of his shorthand novelty were too obvious to be overlooked. Naturally enough, he appeals to his old tutor to use what influence he has, and the latter at once turns to his friend Hicks as the man most likely and competent to make intercession with those in authority, though in the first instance he had taken care to approach the Lord Treasurer's son himself, shrewdly judging that that youth of twenty-three or four would be sure to interest himself in an art which promised to become so useful an adjunct in those affairs which chiefly occupied his attention. Hicks' position as Burghley's amanuensis gave him considerable influence at Court, among his friends being such notabilities as Sir Fulke Greville, Sir John Smith, Bacon, Raleigh, Camden, and a host of others.

“ But he was most dear to Sir Robert Cecyl, the Lord Treasurer's son. Sir Michael was ever at his right hand, and he was never better pleas'd than when he had his company and pleasant conversation ; he also employ'd him in most of his business, and committed many of his secret affairs to him, knowing, by long experience, his faithfulness ; and many persons knowing what interest he had with Sir Robert, both when secretary and Lord High Treasurer, made him their friend, at any rate, to solicit their causes with him. He was ever (except necessarily obstructed) ready to gratify Sir Michael, especially where benefit was likely to accrue to him.”¹


¹ Wotton's *English Baronetage* (1741), vol. i., pp. 342-345.

This intimacy with the younger Cecil was not, it is true, so marked at the time of Skinner's application, but it was sufficiently close for the latter's purpose, and it is clear that he knew what he was about when he approached his friend on the inventor's behalf.

By far the most interesting thing about his letter is the "paper included," which is nothing less than a specimen of Bright's "rare noveltie" in his own hand, neatly written on a folding sheet, of which a *facsimile* is shown in the frontispiece. It consists of a complete copy of the Epistle to Titus—as printed in the Genevan version of the Scriptures—and begins: "The Epistle of Saint Paul to Titus. The first chapter." The characters are written in eighteen vertical lines, Chinese fashion, and a careful analysis shows that, although purely arbitrary in its application, this, the first system of shorthand framed by Timothy Bright, had a certain alphabetical basis, as in the case of his published method of 1588. It should be clearly understood, however, that the system was not alphabetic in the sense that each letter of a word was represented by a distinct and fixed shorthand sign: the alphabetic principle was carried no farther than the initial letter of a word, its shorthand termination being determined apparently by no law other than the inventor's caprice.























On the other hand, a close examination reveals the interesting fact that the few proper names occurring in the Epistle—Paul, Titus, Creta, Cretians, Artemas, Tychicus, Nicopolis, Zenas, and Apollos—are written strictly alphabetically, though in very clumsy fashion, each letter having a distinct sign allotted to it; and the

alphabet employed is quite unlike that which is made to serve for the body of the Epistle. The specimen, unfortunately, does not furnish examples of every letter, but it is possible to give the following skeleton :


 a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w

Its most striking peculiarity is the number of "looped" characters, which are so prominent a feature in the alphabets of Byrom, Taylor, and others ; but the doctor has not made the most of the facilities afforded by these "loops" for joining his characters. Nevertheless, had he proceeded to develop his system on these lines, he would have taken an immense stride forward ; yet he little dreamed how near he was to the construction of a workable method, and later on discarded the alphabetical plan altogether in favour of a far less practical one. A few of the arbitrary signs for commonly-used words occurring in the Epistle to Titus are shown below :

A, an, ~	But, by, /	He, his, e	Let, /
Again, ~	Can, 1	They, } e	Man, men, ✓
All, every, } whole, }	Cannot, †	them, } their, }	May, } might, } Should, } shoulddest, } <
Also, ~	Even, s	Himself, } Them- } selves, }	
Always, 8	Evil, ~		Must, ~
And, 1	For, ~	I, me, my, p	No, ~
As, 1	From, /	In, ~	One, once, 2
Be, being, }	Good, ~	It, (Of, /
Is, are, } were, }	Have, } having, } †	Know, 2	Say, said, } saying, }
		Learn, e	

See, 	Thing, 	Two, twice, 	Who, 
Show, 	This, these, 	We, our, us, 	which, 
Such, 	Thou, 	When, 	Whose, 
That, 	To, 	Wherefore, 	that, 
The, thee, o	True, truth, 	With, 	Word, 
	World, 	You, 	Work, 

This effort of the doctor's, submitted for young Robert Cecil's approval, is the earliest example of British shorthand known to exist, and on that account is not unworthy to rank with the first productions of Caxton's press. Fifty "printographs" of it were distributed to members of the Shorthand Society by Dr. Westby Gibson in 1884, but they were so poorly executed that the characters are barely distinguishable. Although Dr. Gibson claimed¹ to have been, in 1883, the discoverer of Skinner's letter—or, at all events, of the specimen of character which accompanied it—it had been brought to notice some sixty years earlier by Benjamin Hanbury, the historian of Congregationalism, and editor of the shorthand diary of Joseph Williams, of Kidderminster. "It was my good fortune," he wrote in 1856, "to transcribe it from the original many years since, but it was put aside with similar treasures, after an inconsolable bereavement."² That bereavement almost certainly was the loss of his wife, which occurred in 1824. Hanbury had been studying shorthand history very early in the last century, for on December 9, 1816, he wrote :

¹ *Shorthand*, vol. ii., p. 134 (May, 1884); *Transactions of the First International Shorthand Congress*, 1887 (1888), p. 79.

² *Notes and Queries*, second series, vol. ii., p. 393.

"Being more than ordinarily attached to the art, and being desirous of availing myself of everything connected with it, I have, for a considerable time, been making researches with avidity."¹ And in the preface to *The Christian Merchant*, dated April 6, 1815, he observes that he had made stenography, "as exhibited by all the systems he has been able to obtain, his particular study for many years." From Hanbury's unpublished history of shorthand William Harding borrowed some particulars for the eighth edition of his *Universal Stenography* (1828), on p. 14 of which is mentioned a manuscript in Timothy Bright's charactery, dated 1586; and this can be nothing else than the Epistle to Titus.

There is no reason to doubt that the proposed test of the new art's possibilities was duly carried out. No account of what took place on that occasion has reached us; but it involves no great effort of the imagination to conjure up a mental picture of the brothers Bright at Court—the one, armed with goose-quill and table-book, writing at his best speed in fantastic hieroglyphics from the dictation of the other, or of Robert Cecil himself, to the undisguised wonderment of the privileged on-lookers, some of whom may have been stimulated by the exhibition to make closer investigation into the mysteries of this extraordinary contrivance, which was capable, as Vincent Skinner said, of taking a speech from any man's mouth as it was delivered. But while his friends were thus exerting themselves in the furtherance of his interests, the doctor, for some unexplained reason,

¹ *Monthly Magazine*, vol. xliii., p. 8.

had come under the ban of the College of Physicians, whose candidate for the post at St. Bartholomew's he had supplanted. It was probably for some technical infringement of their privileges that the College authorities cited him to appear before them. He seems to have disregarded the summonses, however, with the result that at a meeting of the President and Censors on November 10, 1587, the following was entered on the minutes :

"Præsentibus D[r.]. Smith Præsid[is]. D[r.]. Jhonson. D[r.]. Gilbert.¹ D[r.]. Browne. D[r.]. Hall. hæc sunt acta et conclusa Videlicet.

"D[r.]. Bright, sæpius citatus, et non comparens, in Carcerem conjiciendus est : scilicet in fleetum."²

The seventeenth-century historian of the College, Dr. Goodall, in his *Historical Account of the College's Proceedings against Empiricks and Unlicensed Practisers in Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, gives the following version of the incident : "One Bright being summoned, and not appearing, a Warrant was issued out for seizing him and committing him to the Fleet."³ It will be noticed that the delinquent's Christian name is not given, but there is little room for doubt that he was the St. Bartholomew's physician. It is, however, unlikely that the warrant was acted upon, for he seems to have pursued his work at the hospital unmolested. Probably the influence of his powerful friends was more than adequate to protect him from the jealous hostility of professional

¹ Mr. J. F. Payne, F.R.C.P., Harveian Librarian of the College, kindly transcribed this entry from the MS. *Annales*.

² William Gilbert, author of *De Magnete*.

³ *Royal College of Physicians of London* (1684), p. 323.

rivals, and no doubt it is due to the intervention of Walsingham or Burghley that we are spared the painful spectacle of our pioneer shorthand author languishing in a pestilential prison-house more to be dreaded than death itself.

The leisure hours of the next twelve months or so were spent by Bright in remodelling his invention, revising its details, and perhaps initiating one or two friends into its mysteries. The doctor's house within the hospital gates was the true birthplace of modern shorthand, and here it was that he experimented with strokes and curves, loops and angles, as scores have done after him, in the attempt to formulate a workable method of short and speedy writing. It is interesting to know, from the subjoined entry in the old minute-book, under date July 15, 1588, that the doctor's residence was situate on the Christ's Hospital side of St. Bartholomew's :

" This day order is taken that ther shalbe a brick wall made at the ende of Doctor Brights garden abutting vppon christs hospitall sutable & equall to the wall that nowe ther is, & that the said m^r D[r] Bright is content to allowe xli^s toward the making of the same, w^{ch} shalbe next dewe vnto him for his liverie."¹

A rather more definite indication of the site of the house is provided by a petition of Bright's successor only a year or two later, which also assists us to form some idea of the difficulties with which the physician had to contend, and the annoyances to which he was subject. Dr. D'Oyley, the then physician, complained that he was " greatly annoyed by diu^rse of the poore Inhabitante

¹ St. Bartholomew's MS. Journal, no. 3, fol. 26.

w^{ch} in the Close [*i.e.*, Bartholomew Close] doe hange there beddinge & beastly ragge vppon the Rayles before his dore And by some of the Systers whoe have often emptied close stooles under his chamber wyndowe And in that allsoe some of Smythfeild doe washe there buckes¹ wthin the close at vnseasonable tymes." As a result of this protest, it was ordered " That the porter of this howse doe give notyce to the sayde psons for the amendment And that if he finde any of there clothes hanginge there after he cast them to the ground And to be layde other where." It cannot be said that the measures recommended for putting a stop to the objectionable practices tended to err on the score of being too drastic, and if Timothy Bright's shorthand system was evolved under such conditions, there are indeed mitigating circumstances which must be taken into consideration in judging of the doctor and his work. Two months previously D'Oyley had succeeded in inducing the governors to enlarge his residence by adding to it another story, " w^{ch} is very neadefull for the avoydinge of the sicknes from the howse " [*i.e.*, the hospital].

It was not until 1588—the stirring year of the Spanish Armada—that Vincent Skinner's appeal for some " privilege " to be given to Bright by Her Majesty for the sole teaching of his invention, and the printing of such things as might be taken by its means, bore fruit. On July 13 the Queen granted to the inventor of the new art full

¹ Buck—to wash. Also a quantity of linen washed at once, a tub full of linen in buck. Hence, to wash a buck, to wash a tub of that kind (Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*). Cf. the second part of *Henry VI.*, iv. 2; *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iii. 3, etc.

thing contrary to the purporte and intencõn of these our lres patents. And yf they shall refuse so to doe to comitte them to warde till they shalbe conformable as is aforesaid. It witnes wherof &c. Gyven vnder our pryvy seale at our Mannor of Richmond the thirteenth day of July in the thirtyth yeare of our Reigne."¹

The Signet Bill was only a preliminary step to the passing of Letters Patent under the Great Seal, and in due course the patent itself was issued, in terms exactly identical. The original Patent Roll still exists among the archives of the Record Office,² where it was transcribed by Mr. Thompson Cooper some twenty-five years ago.³ It will be seen that the patent allowed the inventor considerable latitude: it was retrospective as well as prospective, and so carefully worded as to secure immunity from piracy for any works (whether connected with shorthand or not) which he had published or might publish in the future. The patent is dated "the xxvj daye of Julye [1588]," the day following the great struggle off the Isle of Wight between the English and Spanish fleets; and it was on the night of the 28th that the famous fireships worked such havoc among the great galleons of the proud Armada.

This document affords one of the earliest instances of an author seeking special protection for his work apart from the recognized practice under which, until the enactment of a statute with regard to literary property

¹ Signet Bill 1488, July A, 30 Elizabeth.

² Patent Roll 30 Elizabeth, part 12.

³ Printed in *Phonetic Journal*, vol. xlv., p. 21 (January 9, 1886).

in 1710, books passed from owner to owner by descent, sale, or conveyance ; and few of his stenographic successors deemed it expedient to imitate Bright in this respect. Oddly enough, the first to do so appears to have been the Abbé Jacques Cossard, author of the pioneer French system, who secured from Louis XIV. a "*Privilege du Roy*" dated December 30, 1650, and appended to his book of the year following. It was couched in much the same terms as Bright's patent, but remained in force only six years. In England the next "inventor" to adopt this plan of safeguarding his work from literary freebooters was James Weston, who obtained from George II. two distinct royal licences : the first, dated March 22, 1724-25, disabling any person from reprinting or abridging his *Stenography Compleated* (1727) ; the second, dated April 26, 1745, giving similar immunity to his *New Short-Hand Grammar*. On November 14 of the following year Aulay Macaulay sought and obtained a licence from the same monarch protecting his method for a like period. It was of this last that Thomas Gurney scornfully wrote, in a postscript to the fourth edition of his *Brachygraphy* : "When I think of a Patent to secure it from Piracy, it brings to my Mind, the Story of an Old Woman, who secured her Door with an iron Crow, when her principal Furniture were old Raggs, a crack'd Pipkin, a wooden Trencher and a Spoon." Whether or no Macaulay's system was deserving of such scathing criticism, it could not justly have been applied to that of John Byrom, who scored a point over both his rivals by procuring, on June 24, 1742, the passage of an Act of

Parliament¹ which provided that he and his executors should have "the sole Liberty and Privilege of publishing the method of Shorthand by him invented for the term of one and twenty years." This Act is unique in that it constitutes the only piece of legislation ever passed in favour of a particular stenographic system.

Near the time of the issue of his charter, Elizabeth's "well-beloued subiect" was made the recipient of another gift, in the shape of a daughter, who, on August 18, 1588, was christened Margaret—probably after her mother—in the hospital church. She did not outlive the year, however, her burial being registered on November 12. The loss of this second child within little more than two years must have been a heavy blow to the doctor, and a poignant reminder of the limitations of the healing art. As he went sadly about his business in the hospital, the knowledge that all his learning and skill had not availed to save the lives of his two little ones could not but induce mournful reflections on the frailty of the thread upon which hangs our mortal existence.

¹ Printed in *Shorthand*, vol. iii., p. 153 (October, 1887).

CHAPTER V

PUBLICATION OF "CHARACTERIE"

BRIGHT had doubtless been waiting for the grant of patent rights over his invention before making it public. Having done all in his power to secure his work against piracy and plagiarism, he gave it to the world in a little book, with the following title :

*Characterie.*¹ *An arte of shorte, swifte, and secrete writing by Character. Inuented by Timothe Bright,*

¹ The term "character," as applied to writing by brief characters, appears to have originated with Bright, but never became popular, although put by Shakespeare into the lips of Mistress Quickly (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. 5, 77) and Brutus (*Julius Cæsar*, ii. 1, 308). It was quickly supplanted by "brachygraphy" (after Peter Bales, 1590), "stenography," and "short writing" (after John Willis, 1602). By the middle of the seventeenth century it had not altogether fallen into disuse, however, for "Character" was one of the names which Jeremiah Rich gave to the system of his uncle, William Cartwright, in 1646; and Thomas Shelton, in issuing his *Zeiglographia* (1650), claimed for it that "it surpasseth all former ways of Character yet extant." As late as 1672 William Facy employed the word on the title-page of his *Complement of Stenography*. It is not easy to determine the precise period when the art began to be known as "shorthand," obviously a contraction of "short handwriting." The earliest instance known to the writer occurs in an epitaph, still to be seen in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, which Aubrey assigns to Thomas Randolph. It is to the memory of William Laurence, the servant of a prebendary—"Obiit Decemb: 28. 1621. Ætatis svæ 29"—and quaintly records that

"Short hand he wrot, his flowre in prime did fade,
And hasty death short hand of him hath made."

Doctor of Phisike. Imprinted at London by I. Windet, the Assigne of Tim. Bright. 1588. Cum privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. Forbidding all other to print the same.

It has been truly said that this book occupies a unique position in the history of shorthand, from which it will probably never be dislodged. It embodies the first published attempt at a system of writing briefer than the common longhand, and as such will ever be looked upon as an *avant coureur*.¹ The book was not entered at Stationers' Hall, since the royal patent rendered it unnecessary for the author to secure copyright by registration; but its date is probably subsequent to that of the Queen's "priviledge," which is unmistakably alluded to in the "Epistle Dedicatorie." The latter is addressed to the Queen herself, and describes the nature and objects of the new art in the quaint and inflated style of the period:

"To the most high, and mightie Prince, ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Queene: Defender of the faith &c.

"Cicero did account it worthie his labor, and no less profitable to the Roman common weale (Most gracious

"Short writing" was by far the most favoured designation for the art with the early writers; it appears on the title-pages of John Willis, Folkingham, Laborer, Shelton, Whiting, Dix, Maud, Metcalf, Farthing, and others. By the middle of the seventeenth century "brachygraphy" began to go out of fashion, though it was revived by the Gurneys, and carried well into the last century; while "shorthand" rapidly gained in popularity, until now the art—in this country—is seldom alluded to by any other name.

¹ The claims of Thomas Ratcliff, whose Christian name has only lately come to light, to be considered the forerunner of modern shorthand, have been finally demolished by Mr. A. T. Wright ("*Mr. Ratcliff of Plimouth*" and *Thomas Cross*, 1907, and

Soueraigne,) to inuent a speedie kinde of wryting by Character, as Plutarch reporteth in the life of *Cato* the yonger.¹ This inuention was increased afterward by *Seneca*: that the number of Characters grue to 7000. Whether through iniurie of time, or that men gaue it ouer for tediousness of learning, nothing remaineth extant of Ciceros inuention at this day. Vpon consideration of the great vse of such a kinde of writing, I haue inuented the like: of fewe Characters, short, & easie, euery Character answering a word: My inuention meere English, without precept, or imitation of any. The vses are diuers: Short, that a swifte hande may therewith write Orations, or publike actions of speach, vttered as becommeth the grauitie of such actions, *verbatim*. Secrete, as no kinde of wryting like. And herein (besides other properties) excelling the wryting by letters and Alphabet, in that, Nations of strange languages, may hereby communicate their meaning together in writing, though of sundrie tonges, it is reported of the people of *China*, that they haue no other kinde, and so traffike together many Prouinces of that kingdom, ignorant one of an others speach. Their Characters are very long, and harde to make, that a dousen of mine, may be written as soon as one of theirs: Besides, they wanting an Alphabet, fal into an infinite number, which is a thing that greatlie chargeth memory, and may discourage the learner.

“ This my inuention I am emboldned to dedicate vnto your Maiesty, in that among other your Princelie vertues, your Maiesty is woont to approue of euerie good and profitable inuention of learning: and in duetie of thankfulness am I much more bounde thereunto, from whome

Addenda, 1909), who has proved conclusively that Ratcliff's two systems of “Short writing without characters” and “Short writing by characters” date from about the middle of the seventeenth century.

¹ *Cap.* 23.

I haue receiued assurance of the fruite of my studies, by your Maiesties most gracious Priuiledge. And this my inuention being altogether of English yeeld, where your Maiestie is the Ladie of the Soyle it appertayneth of right to you onely. So, moued by duetie, and encouraged by your Maiesties fauourable disposition to the vertuous & learned indeuors of your faithfull Subiects, I haue presumed to publish my Charactery vnder the protection of your Maiesties name. It is like a tender plant, yong & strange, and so it resteth.

“ If it may be so happy, as to inioye the influence of your Maiesties fauoure, and good liking, I doubt not, but it will grow vp, be embraced, & yeeld profitable fruit vnto many, & I myself thereby shal haue attained for my particular respect, that which in a lower degree, many shal enjoy by the vse of this my inuentiō, which I hope (be it said with modestie) wanteth little to equall it, with that olde deuise of *Ciceroes*, but your Maiesties allowance, & *Ciceroes* name. The later as I can easily spare, so without the former my Characterie dareth presume no farther, but liueth, or dieth, according to your Maiesties account, whose blessed state, as it is to all your loyall subiectes an other life, besides the naturall, so to this new sprong ympe, & to me the parent therof, nothing can bee more comfortable then your Maiesties gracious acceptation, by whom all the land florisheth, & is at the very heart cheered.

“ The eternall blesse your Maiestie with increase of all happinesse to your comforte, and your faithful subiects, that (vnder the great maiestie of God) onely depend vpon you.

“ Your Maiesties faithful Subiect,

“ TIMOTHE BRIGHT.”

Although in extolling the Queen he affects to speak rather slightly of Cicero, this dedication establishes

CHARACTERIE.
A N A R T E
of shorte, swifte,
and secrete wri-
ting by Charac-
ter.

Inuented by Timothe
Bright, Doctor of
Phisike.



Imprinted at London by
I. Windet, the Assigne
of Tim, Bright.
1 5 8 8.

Cum priuilegio Regie Maiestatis.

*Forbidding all other to print
the same.*

TITLE-PAGE OF "CHARACTERIE."

(From the copy in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge.)

the interesting fact that Bright's shorthand owed its inspiration to the Roman *notæ*, the invention of which he attributes to the great orator and statesman, but which is now usually ascribed to his freedman, Tiro. In all probability it was the reading of the passage in Plutarch to which he refers, where is described the reporting of Cato's speech on the Catalinian conspiracy by skilful writers of small and short characters, that had fired Master Tim. Bright with the desire to resuscitate so novel and expeditious a mode of writing. And his invention, it seems, was intended to serve the purpose of a universal language and a secret writing, as well as a means of preserving the spoken word.¹

The system propounded in this book differs materially from that in which the Epistle to Titus was written by its author two years before: doubtless as a result of many experiments, he had seen fit to reconstruct it practically *in toto*, retaining only the forms for certain prepositions, pronouns, etc. A full explanation would be out of place here, but may be found in a paper read before the Shorthand Society in 1884 by Mr. Edward Pocknell. It will be sufficient to outline its main principles. Successive writers have asserted and denied with equal vehemence that Bright's charactery is alphabetic. Certainly it is not alphabetic in the sense

¹ It is a remarkable fact, which seems to have escaped notice, that the two most important branches of commercial education to-day—shorthand and book-keeping—were revived almost simultaneously. What is believed to be the earliest English treatise on book-keeping by double-entry—*A briefe instruction and maner how to keepe bookes of Accompts after the order of Debitor and Creditor*, etc.—appeared in the same year as Bright's book, from the press of the same printer, who was then "dwelling at the signe of the white Beare, nigh Baynards Castle."

in which that term is applied to modern systems of shorthand, but Bright nevertheless found it convenient to employ an alphabet, which is here reproduced :

a b ck d e f g h ijy l m n o p r sz t uvw

To each letter was assigned a certain number of what the author styles "charactericall" words with a corresponding initial, each separate word being distinguished by the addition of a distinct stroke, hook, or circle to the end of the initial sign, and these are shown below for the sake of illustration :

abound about accept accuse advance
air again age all almost also although

These final appendages were limited to twelve, but more words could be represented by altering the position of the initial letter, which could be written in four directions, thus : | / \ —, and by this means forty-eight words could be indicated by each letter of the alphabet. The total number of words thus provided for by arbitrary marks was 537, and all had to be committed to memory !

"Thou art first," says Bright, in "An instruction to the Reader, how the art is to be learned," "to learne the Characterie wordes by heart, and therewith the making of the figure of the Character, to doo it readily, and cleane. Then, to be able to ioyn euey Character to the worde pronounced, without booke or sight of any patterne before thee. This done, thou art farther to proceede, and to learne how to referre eyther wordes of like signification, or of the same kinde, or contraries vnto those that be called Characterie. Here because

euery man by his owne reache can not consider how to refer all wordes, thou hast in this booke an English dictionary, with words of referēce already thereto adioyned to helpe such as of theselues can not so dispose the.

From which it will be seen that all words not included in the chosen 537 had to be formed from them by certain variations, and perhaps the most remarkable thing in the whole system is the way in which the inventor provides for the representation of words for which he has no "character" symbol. This can best be explained by an example. If the stenographer wished to write the word *abandon*, which is not furnished with a special sign, he must first write the character for the synonymous word *forsake*, and then at the left-hand side the alphabetic character for *a*. In the same way, if he wished to write *hymn*, he must write the character for *sing*, and on the left side the initial *h*. Appended to the book is a long "Table of English Wordes," with their synonyms, for the assistance of the learner. Not every word, however, has a synonym, and the author has not overlooked this fact, for by finding a word with an opposite signification and writing its initial letter on the *right* side, the same result is arrived at.

How uncertain such a method of writing must have been the present-day reporter can well imagine, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether some of the synonyms employed would recall to the mind of the shorthand writer the exact word used by the speaker. For instance, he had to write *can* for *ability*, *begin* for *accomplish*, *grief* for *ache*, etc. ; while in many cases the initial at the side might stand for more than one word. Thus,

if the writer wished to express *swan*, he would write the shorthand character for *bird* with the initial *s* at the side, and unless his memory were unusually retentive he might read *swallow*, *stork*, *sparrow*, or *snipe*.

By his lavish use of initial signs, as Dr. Westby Gibson puts it, Timothy Bright could "change *abbots* into *bishops*; transmute *metal* into *gold*, *silver*, or *lead*; and turn *angels* into *devils*¹ by a stroke of his harlequin pen." He necessarily placed much reliance on the context and grammatical structure of sentences as an aid in the transcription of notes. A dot on the right of a word signified the plural number, on the left the past tense, and a stroke through a word indicated a negative. A pause could be shown by a dot placed under the preceding word, and this is all the punctuation provided for. Writers of Pitman's phonography will be interested to know that, in addition to his long list of characterly words, Bright had a number of "particles," or grammalogues, some of which closely resemble their phonographic equivalents, as these examples show: *o* the, *i* and, */* of, *-* to, *²* with.

Bright claimed that his system could be mastered in a month, "& by continuance of an other moneth mayest thou attaine to great readinesse." He recommends the learner to write out the whole of the words in his "Table" from a friend's dictation, and afterwards to "cast the Characterie wordes into some discourse, as liketh thee best." A foreshadowing of the phonetic principle now all but universally adopted in the framing

¹ This is not strictly correct, Bright's synonym for *angel* being *message*, while *devil* is represented by *mind*.

of shorthand systems is seen in the sentence: "A worde of the same sound, though of diuers sence, is written with the same [character]: as, *faste*, for abstinence from meate, for *swiftnes* and *surenes*." "The sense onlie is to be taken with the character," he adds; "whē besides that wee desire to bee swift, the very expresse worde is not necessarie. That is, when they doe but fill the speech, or otherwise are not of the substance of the matter; as, circumlocutions, and partitions." The remarkable unanimity with which the early shorthand authors—however preposterous some of their pretensions—disclaimed the ability to write *verbatim*, except after a moderate speaker, has often been commented upon. Bright is no exception. He stipulates that a discourse to be so reported by his system must be "vttered as becommeth the grauitie of such actions," just as John Willis later on insisted that the speaker must be "of a treatable and sober delivery," and still later writers imposed similar restrictions. Although it is impossible to withhold admiration of the author's ingenuity, it would be absurd to question the justice of James Henry Lewis's verdict:

"The system being built on a bad foundation, and wrapt up in obscurity, confusion and perplexity, presented to the student impediments so numerous and discouraging, that nothing but a determined resolution, together with intense application, was sufficient to overcome. To acquire a knowledge of the art (by this method) in such a degree of perfection as to render it at all useful, as much time and attention must have been requisite as is necessary for the accomplishment of a new language."

Only two original copies of *Characterie* can now be located definitely. One is in the Bodleian Library¹ at Oxford, and for many years this has been looked upon as unique. It is a small volume of 128 leaves, measuring 2½ inches wide by 4½ inches high, in fair condition; but the title-page has been restored and a few missing letters supplied in MS. Some headlines have been shaved in binding, and the shorthand characters, all written in ink, are fast fading. This volume originally belonged to Peter Osborne (the dedicatee of Bright's *Melancholy*), and bears his autograph on the title. Above it is the bold, clear signature of William Herbert, the bibliographer, who had this copy before him when writing the notice for his edition of Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*;² and on the back is the name of another owner not so readily identified—one James Wilkinson. Inside the cover also is the bookplate of Francis Douce, the Shakespearean scholar, who bequeathed it to the Bodleian with the rest of his valuable library in 1834.³

Beloe refers to the book as belonging to Douce in 1807,⁴ but antedates it by thirty years. In this error he has been followed by so careful a writer as the late Thomas Allen Reed (*Shorthand Writer*, p. 16), and it is odd to find Dr. Westby Gibson, in calling attention to Beloe's slip, himself misquoting the date given by the latter as 1538 (*Shorthand*, vol. ii., p. 133). Beloe commits

¹ Pressmark, "Douce W. 3."

² Vol. ii., pp. 1226, 1227 and note.

³ *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts bequeathed by F. D., Esq., to the Bodleian Library* (1840), p. 40.

⁴ *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. i., p. 223.

another blunder when he states that Bright is not mentioned in Massey's *Origin and Progress of Letters* (1763), for he and his shorthand are briefly noticed on p. 146 of that work, in the section devoted to "brachygraphy." In the Bodleian copy of *Characterie* ten fresh characters have been added very neatly to the "characterie table," and numerous additions have been made to the "table of English words" in an old hand.

The second known copy of *Characterie* is preserved among the little-known treasures bequeathed by Samuel Pepys to Magdalene College, Cambridge. It forms one of five volumes of treatises on shorthand which Pepys had collected, and like the rest of his books, it bears the diarist's arms and crest stamped in gold on both covers, while his portrait is pasted on the back of the title, and on the flyleaf at the end is his bookplate. On the other flyleaf a note in Pepys' handwriting refers to an index of the shorthand works in the fifth volume of the collection. Pepys left all his books by will to his nephew, John Jackson, in 1703; and on the latter's death in 1724 they were at once transferred, in the original bookcases, to the diarist's old college. Yet although it has reposed on the shelves of the Pepysian library for more than two centuries, the existence of this second copy has only lately been revealed, and the writer is indebted to Mr. A. Tremaine Wright for acquainting him with its whereabouts. There is no mention whatever of the book in Hartshorne's *Book Rarities of Cambridge University*. The volume is in splendid preservation, and the shorthand as legible to-day as when written. This particular specimen has

a special interest, too, in view of its association with the writer of the famous "Diary" which, as we all know, was kept throughout in the tachygraphy of Thomas Shelton. In both the Bodleian and Pepysian copies of Bright's little treatise, the words "*Ingenio arte manu*" are added in MS. after the author's name at the end of the dedicatory epistle.

At least one other exemplar of this exceedingly rare book is believed to exist. On the fourth day of the sale of the great library of James Bindley, December 10, 1818, a copy changed hands for £3 11s.,¹ a sum which would probably be realized twenty times over if it were put up to auction to-day. This must be the volume which Dr. Gibson records as sold "at Binley's sale, 1866" (*sic*).² Writing to *Notes and Queries* in November, 1856, Mr. Hanbury, the discoverer of the Skinner letter, remarked: "Among my rare treasures on this subject [shorthand] is a beautiful copy, with the synoptical table, in vellum, of 'Characterie.'"³ At the time he wrote these words Hanbury was living at 16, Gloucester Villas, Loughborough Road, Brixton, and there he died on January 12, 1864. On the following April 20 to 22 his library, including "a collection of nearly 200 works on shorthand," was dispersed at Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's auction-rooms, nearly the whole of the shorthand books being knocked down to Mr. Henry Stevens, of Vermont, the well-known bookseller

¹ *Catalogue of the Library of the Late J. B., Esq. Part the First* (1818), p. 19 (lot 591). The British Museum copy has the prices in manuscript.

² *Bibliography of Shorthand* (1887), p. 29.

³ Second series, vol. xlvi., p. 393.

A generall view of the Art of Charactery.



BRIGHT'S SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF "CHARACTERY."

(From the Earl of Crawford's copy: see p. xiv.)

and bibliographer, for £6 2s. 6d.!¹ The present-day collector will hardly repress a little sigh of envy when he learns that among the rarer volumes secured for this very modest sum were such coveted items as Bridges (1659), Coles (1674), Everardt (1658), Facy (1672), Farthing (1654), Hopkins (1674), Metcalfe (1668), Nicholas (1692), Rich (1646), Ridpath (1687), Shelton (1645), Steele (1672), E. Willis (1618), J. Willis (1632), as well as examples of the systems of Addy, Botley, Gibbs, Hervey, Lyle, Macaulay, Mason, Nash, Oxley, and others.

Yet, though all these are enumerated in the catalogue, there is no mention of the *Characterie* owned by Hanbury eight years before, and up to now all efforts to trace it have proved fruitless. Possibly it is the same which Bindley formerly possessed. The disappearance of this particular copy is the more to be deplored since nothing is known of a "synoptical table" apart from Hanbury's cursory allusion quoted above, though it may be that this same table is embodied in the "folding leaf" referred to by W. Carew Hazlitt,² but which is not found in the Bodleian and Pepysian copies. Mr. Hazlitt does not now recollect where he saw the book, but is confident that it contained the leaf in question.

The absence of this folding leaf in the two extant copies, coupled with a singular discrepancy in Philip

¹ *Catalogue of a collection of . . . books and tracts, including the library of the late Benjamin Hanbury, Esq.*, p. 41 (lot 545). The British Museum copy is interleaved with manuscript prices and purchasers' names.

² *Collections and Notes*, 1867-1876 (1876), p. 52.

Gibbs' quotation from Bright's "Instruction to the Reader," has suggested the possibility of more than one edition of *Characterie* in the same year. Gibbs' quotation begins: "Thou hast here, gentle Reader, the Art of short, and so of speedy Writing, to which none is comparable, plainly delivered unto thee."¹ In the originals at Oxford and Cambridge this sentence runs: "Thou hast here, gentle Reader, an Art of short, and so of speedie wryting, plainly deliuered vnto thee." Then, after three intervening pages of matter, comes the closing sentence: "So hast thou the Art of short, swift, and secrete writing, none comparable." Obviously, either Gibbs had seen a variant edition of the book, or, in his desire to compress as much as possible of Bright's exposition into a small space, he took the unwarrantable liberty of interpolating a phrase which is not actually in the original.

Writing of Timothy Bright and his book in 1847, Isaac Pitman said: "This book is now become so scarce that but one copy is known to be in existence, and this is owned by Mr. Lewis, author of *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of Shorthand*."² This statement was quoted by the learned Dr. Zeibig in the *Panstenographikon* (1869), who was, however, obliged to add: "Our own attempts, made with a view to obtain this book from Mr. Lewis or even to have a transcript of it, or a better and more circumstantial sketch, than that which is given in the above author's book, have not been successful." And Dr. Westby

¹ *An Historical Account of Compendious and Swift Writing* (1736), p. 37.

² *Phonotypic Journal*, vol. vi., p. 214.

Gibson, while repeating the story at a meeting of the Shorthand Society in 1881, confessed that "although I would rather take a first peep at the little 24mo. than a leisurely survey of the Kohinoor, I don't know how to gratify my curiosity."¹ The doctor then invited Mr. Alfred Leopold Lewis (son of the shorthand historian), who was present, to disclose the whereabouts of the supposed unique volume ; but the desired information was apparently not forthcoming, and it remains highly problematical whether Lewis senior ever really possessed such a copy. Certainly he had not one when he wrote his *Historical Account*, for he borrowed all his information about the book from Philip Gibbs, nor was it included in the list of his books printed by Mr. C. Walford in 1882.²

About the year 1890 a copy of *Characterie* passed through the hands of Messrs. Bailey Bros., booksellers, of 62 Newington Butts, London, S.E.³ It was in poor condition, but complete, and sold for £7. Although he has no record of the purchaser, Mr. Bailey believes the book's destination was America ; and as recently as May, 1907, the writer heard of a copy sent to New York by Mr. F. T. Sabin. MS. transcripts of the Bodleian volume, made by John Eglington Bailey and Edward Pocknell, are in the Manchester Free Reference Library and the reference library of the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter, respectively.

What purports to be a reprint of the same (limited

¹ *Shorthand*, vol. i., p. 88.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163 *et seq.*

³ *Willis-Byrom Club Bulletin*, vol. i., no. 7, p. 2 (October-December, 1903).

to 100 copies) was produced in 1888 by Mr. James Herbert Ford, editor of *The Reporters' Journal*. To one desirous of gaining only a general idea of Bright's method this production may be of some service; but the student who wishes to know exactly what the doctor wrote, and for whose benefit the "reprint" ostensibly exists, will find it still incumbent upon him to visit one or other of the Universities and consult the real thing.

It is unfortunate, to say the least, that Mr. Ford claims to have followed the original "in every detail, preserving the exact spacing and pagination, as well as the quaint old-style spelling," for a comparison brings to light an astonishing number of inexactitudes, terminological and otherwise. Neither spacing nor spelling has been adhered to, while in many instances the words of the original have been totally transformed. Bright's "acceptation," for example, is rendered "expectation"; "called" becomes "quite"; "character," "crook"; "after," "in"; "these," "thus"; "loved," "lived"; "neither," "any"; "answering," "inserting"; "table," "title"; "partitions," "purposes"; and so on, making nonsense frequently of what was already obscure. All the foregoing occur in the preliminary pages, and many more might be cited from the tables of words which follow; but enough has been written to show that for purposes of study the so-called reprint is not to be relied upon. Mr. Ford's use of phonography for transcribing the uncertain orthography of three centuries ago was hardly a fair test for a system which is essentially phonetic, especially

in view of his admission that the transcript was hastily made.¹

At the dispersal of the manuscripts of Dawson Turner, the antiquary, in 1859, a volume of *Antiquarian Miscellanies* from the library of Sir Henry Spelman was sold, among the contents being "A treatise upon shorthand or secret writing, invented by Timothy Bright, Doctor of Physicke, together with a table of the characters."² "It would be interesting to know what has become of that 'Treatise upon shorthand,' and whether it is a copy of the *Characterie* in the Bodleian," wrote Mr. Pocknell in 1887. Doubtless the volume was one of those purchased by Turner at the sale of Cox Macro's MSS. in 1820. Afterwards it passed into the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and at the Phillipps' sale in 1899 was acquired by the British Museum, where it now reposes.³ The MS. is almost an exact copy of the printed book of 1588, except that the dedication is curtailed and the "Table of Words" omitted. It was manifestly transcribed from Bright's book soon after publication, the calligraphy being unmistakably that of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

¹ See *The Office*, vol. i., no. 7, pp. 4, 5; no. 9, pp. 5, 6 (November 3 and 17, 1888).

² *Catalogue of the Manuscript Library of the late Dawson Turner, Esq.* (1859), p. 4 (lot 8).

³ Additional MS. 35,333, art. 7.

CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETHAN SHORTHAND

BRIGHT'S book, appearing at a time when the minds of his countrymen were occupied, almost to the exclusion of every other topic, with the menacing movements of the great Spanish fleet which was to suffer so grievously from the guns of the English seamen and from the yet more destructive Scottish gales, attracted less notice than we may well suppose it would have done had it seen the light at a more opportune moment ; but there is not wanting evidence to show that, in spite of this disadvantage and its intrinsic shortcomings, the " new sprong ympe " was mastered by more than one enthusiast with sufficient resolution and power of application to overcome its difficulties.

The most remarkable specimen of charactery which has come down to us is a manuscript of a dozen vellum leaves, 5 inches wide by 6 inches high, preserved in the British Museum.¹ The writer, Miss Jane Seager, presented it to Queen Elizabeth, and a quaint address on the first page proclaims its purport :

" To the Queenes most Excellent Ma^{ty}.

" SACRED MAT^{ty} Maye yt please those most gracious eÿen (acquaynted with all perfections, and aboue others

¹ Additional MS. 10,037.

most Excellent) to vouchsafe to make worthy of their princely view, the handy-worke of a Mayden yo^r Ma^{ties} most faithfull Subiect. It conteyneth (Renomed Soueraine) the divine prophesies of the ten Sibills (Virgyns) vpon the birthe of our Sauour Christ, by a most blessed Virgyn ; Of w^{ch} most holy faith, your Ma^{ty} being chiefe Defendress, and a virgyn also, yt is a thinge (as yt weare) preordeyned of god, that this Treatis, wrytten by a Mayden yo^r subiect, should be only deuoted vnto yo^r most sacred selfe. The which, albeit I haue graced both wth my pen and pencell, and late practize in that rare Arte of Character, invented by D[r].¹ Bright, yet accompting yt to lack all grace withoute yo^r Ma^{ties} most gracious acceptance, I humbly presente the same wth harty prayers for yo^r Ma^{ty}.

“ JANE SEAGER.”

The ten sibyls of Agrippa, Samia, Libya, Cimmeria, Europa, Persica, Erythrea, Delphica, Tyburtina, and Cumana, are each represented by a verse written in shorthand on one side of each leaf, with the transcript, in the beautiful Italian calligraphy of the period, on the opposite page. The name of the sibyl and the first word of each verse are in gilt shorthand, the remainder being written in ordinary black ink. At the end the talented writer thus takes leave of her royal reader :

“ Lo thus in breife (most sacred Maiestye)
I haue sett downe whence all theis Sibells weare :
What they foretold, or saw, we see, and heare,
And profett reape by all their prophesy.

¹ The abbreviation “D.” for “Doctor,” which is of constant recurrence in the sixteenth century, misled Mr. Levy when he wrote that “the name here is D. and not T. Bright” (*Compte rendu du VIII^e Congrès International de Sténographie*, 1905, p. 130).

Would God I weare a Sibell to divine
 In worthy vearse your lasting happynes :
 Then only I should be Characteres[s]
 Of that, which worlds with wounder might defyne.
 But what need I to wish, when you are such,
 Of whose perfections none can write to much."

Even Elizabeth's voracious appetite for flattery must surely have been satisfied by this poetical panegyric.

The volume is beautifully bound, the covers having broad margins of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold lace which has become much tarnished, surrounding elaborately enamelled and gilt panels, the glass of which is now cracked and broken into fragments. The front panel bears in the centre the mottoes "God and my right," "Evil be to him that evil thinks," in gilt character, and the shorthand initials "E.R.," for Elizabeth Regina. Apparently there was a similar inscription on the back, but the shattered condition of the glass makes decipherment out of the question now. At the foot of this cover and on the last page is the date "An^o Dominij. 1589." Doubtless the book—a really creditable specimen of feminine handiwork—was a New Year's gift to the Queen from one of the ladies of her Court. Dr. Westby Gibson hazarded the conjecture that Jane Seager was "probably a relative of Seager Herald, then living"¹—a very reasonable supposition, though she is not mentioned in the pedigree printed in Noble's *History of the College of Arms*. She may have been a kinswoman

¹ *Transactions of the First International Shorthand Congress* (1888), p. 81. Sir William Segar (d. 1633) was "bred a scrivener," became Somerset Herald January 4, 1588-89, Norroy King-of-Arms in 1593, and Garter King-of-Arms in 1603. He was one of the judges in the famous calligraphic contest between Peter Bales and Daniel Johnson in 1595 (Strype's *Stow's Survey*, 1720, vol. i., p. 124). Segar was twice married, and had a large family.

of Francis Seager or Segar, author of *A brefe Declaration of the great and innumerable Myseries and Wretchednesses used i[n] Courtes ryall* (1549), *The Schoole of Vertue* (1557), and other devotional works printed for him by William Seres ; or of William Seager, Rector of St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, who died in 1569, but whose will makes no mention of a daughter Jane. Whatever her family connections, the lady is the first known shorthand writer of her sex, unless we accept the allegation of Marcellinus that the art was practised by Roman servant-maids ; and her book may have formed part of the royal library at Whitehall, described by the German traveller Hentzner in 1598, all the volumes in which were " bound in velvet of different colours, but chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver," some having pearls and precious stones set in their bindings.

A little study of the *Book of Sibyls* is all that is needed to convince anyone that the pitfalls which beset the path of the latter-day shorthand writer, though their avoidance calls for the exercise of much mental vigilance, are as nothing to those encountered by Jane Seager and contemporary note-takers in the construing of their charactery. To take as an example the verse quoted above, its literal rendering would be :

" I See thus in greatb most sholy mgrace
 I have sit upd thencew all these sib[yls] were.
 What they for tdeclared, or saw, we see and hear,
 And pbenefit reap by all their prophecy.
 Would God I were a sib[yl] to dgod
 In worthy vsing your lasting hbliss :
 Then one ly I will be characteress
 Of that which worlds with wmarvell mcan beginnd.
 But what nscarce I to wdesire thenw you are such
 Of whose perfections somen can write too much ?"

The letters at the *left* side represent a word synonymous, or nearly so, with the actual word written in charactery, while the letters at the *right* side stand for a word of opposite meaning to the one written. In such circumstances transcription must have been largely a matter of guess-work, and imagination reels at thought of the confusion that would arise if the proceedings in our Houses of Parliament and Courts of Law had to be reported by such a system as Timothy Bright's. It must be remembered, too, that Jane Seager's verses were penned in cold blood ; she had unlimited time, so far as we know, for thinking out the most suitable "characterical" words. Had the nymph written under the stress of *verbatim* reporting as the words fell unchecked from the lips of some fervid orator, her notes must have been infinitely more obscure, nor could they have been written with such precision as to preclude any possibility of "clashing."

It is odd that our German friends, whose zeal for Shakespeare and things Shakespearean at times outruns their critical acumen, should have got into their heads the notion that Jane Seager's *Sibyls* and Bright's *Epistle to Titus* in some mysterious way concern our national poet. It seems that the German Shakespeare Society in 1900 deputed two of its members to convey to the International Shorthand Congress which met at Paris in that year its earnest desire that "*les manuscrits sténographiques de Timothy Bright qui se trouvent dans le Musée britannique à Londres, concernant Shakespeare (sign. Lansd. 51 et Add. 10037), soient publiés entièrement par une commission de rédaction, et que le Comité de*

jonction soit chargé de l'exécution de ce projet."¹ It was further recommended that the manuscripts should be made public "*en cette forme que les latino-barbares ont nommée facsimilé.*" The proposition was unanimously agreed to, but it does not appear that any steps were taken to carry out the scheme; and the matter was cleared up at the Congress held in Brussels five years later, to which Mr. Matthias Levy contributed a paper explaining that the manuscripts in question contain no reference to Shakespeare, nor do they throw any light on his life and works. None the less, the photographic reproduction of these two specimens of Elizabethan shorthand was a thing greatly to be desired, and they were published for the first time in Mr. Levy's *William Shakespeare and Timothy Bright* (1910). Dr. Westby Gibson had announced in 1890 his intention to publish *facsimiles* in a *Memoir of Timothy Bright*, being a reprint of his address before the first International Shorthand Congress, with additional matter; but this and many another project were frustrated by the doctor's death early in 1892.

To 1589 also belongs the first attempt at reporting a spoken discourse by means of shorthand, of which we have any certain knowledge, in modern times. Andrew Maunsell, in the first part of his *Catalogue of English printed Bookes* (1595), p. 99, has this item:

"Steph. Egerton his lecture, (taken by Characterie) on Gen. 12. vers 17. 18. 19. 20. Printed for Iohn Daldren. 1589. in 8 [vo]."

¹ *Compte rendu*, p. 237.

And in the Stationers' register for 1589 we find :

" xxj^o die Julij

" John Windett/ Entred for his Copie *an ordinarie lecture preached at the Blacke friers by master Egerton, &c.* and vnder th[e h]andes of master Docter Staller and bothe the wardens . . . vj^d
"G[ABRIEL] C[AWOOD]."¹

The sermon thus licensed to Windet was presumably printed for him by Daldren, but of the original edition no copy is known to exist. In 1603, however, the sermon was again licensed :

" 25 Junij

"Walter Burre Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the wardens *A Lecture preched by master Egerton vpon the xijth chapter of Genesis. verses. 17. 18. 19. 20* vj^d."²

Of this edition, fortunately, a copy has survived, and Mr. A. T. Wright, who discovered it in the Bodleian Library, has given some account of it in a most interesting address delivered before the Incorporated Society of Shorthand Teachers in 1908.³ The title-page of this little volume runs :

"A lectvre preached by Maister Egerton, at the Blacke-friers, 1589, taken by Characterie, by a yong Practitioner in that Facultie : and now againe perused, corrected and amended by the Author. . . . Printed

¹ Arber's *Transcript*, vol. ii., p. 525.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 239.

³ *Shorthand Teacher*, vol. xii., p. 75 *et seq.*

at London by V. S.¹ for Walter Burre, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crane in Paules Churchyard."

The date 1603 is supplied by the colophon on the last leaf; and the heading to the text, "A Lecture preached in the Blacke-Friers. Gen. Chap. 12. ver. 17, 18, 19, 20," proves the sermon to be the same as the one published by Daldren. The author explains that this is the first occasion on which he has been induced to publish one of his discourses; his only reason for doing so now being that the sermon had already been imperfectly printed "by one who, as it seemeth to me, respected the commendation of his skill in Charracterie, more than the credit of my ministry;" and, the copy having come into his hands, he had taken the opportunity of revising it, "somewhat to qualifie an error that cannot be recalled." Having thus justified his action, the preacher delivers himself of the following *dictum* concerning shorthand writing in church:

"And now touching noting at Sermons giue me leaue (gentle Reader) in a word to tell thee what I thinke. For the thing it selfe, I dare not (with some) condemne it as vnlawful, but rather commend it as expedient, if there be iudgement, memory and dexteritie of hand in the partie. Aboue all things (in mine opinion, as in other matters so in this) a good conscience is most requisite, both for the present time, that his own hart

¹ Valentine Sims, indicated by these initials, printed in 1597 the quarto of *Richard II.*, and in 1600 the quartos of *Much Ado about Nothing*, the second part of *Henry IV.*, and the second part of *Henry VI.* "The inference," it has been urged, "is that the printer of sermons taken down in shorthand, also printed Plays which may have been taken down in shorthand" (*Baconiana*, new series, vol. viii., July, 1900, p. 152).

who writeth be not hindred, and defrauded of the fruite and power of the word, by the exercise of his head, and the labour of his hand : neyther yet the Minister wronged, nor filthy lucre or vaine-glory aymed at."

From which it will be seen that Master Egerton was needlessly apprehensive lest the shorthand-writers of his flock should lose the spiritual benefits of his ministry through a too close attention to the mere verbal medium by which he sought to convey a knowledge of the truth to the hearts of his hearers. He proceeds to give a valuable indication of the limitations of those shorthand-writers in the matter of speed :

" To these things might be added (which I my selfe haue found by some experience) that the swiftest hand commeth often short of the slowest tongue : as I haue perceiued by diuerse things which I haue seene penned from mine owne mouth, who am constrained thorough straightnes of my breast, & difficulty of breathing, to speake more laysurely then most men doe, or I my selfe willingly would ; therfore to conclude this point, my aduise is, to such as haue willing harts, and ready hands, and conuenient places to write at Sermons, that they would vse it for their own priuate helpe and edification, and to the comfort and benefite of their families, & such christian friends as they shal haue occasion to conferre withal in priuate, and not to suffer themselues to be seduced by gaine or glory to set forth those things which may be, not only preiudiciall to the Preacher, but dishonourable to God, and vnprofitable to the church."

Thus far the worthy Egerton, whose address to the Christian reader is followed by a " Preface " from the pen of the sermon-taker himself, which must be quoted in full :

" It hath beene (Christian reader) till of late, much wished, that there were an ordinarie way of swift writing, whereby Sermons and Lectures of godly Preachers might be preserued for the vse of the absent and posteritie hereafter : That whereas no more remaineth after the hower passed, than so much as the frailtie of memory carrieth away : by the benefite of speedy writing, the whole body of the Lecture, and sermon might be registred. This desire of many, some haue lately endeoured to satisfie, by an Art called Characterie : which I hauing learned, haue put in practise, in writing sermons thereby to preserue (as it were) the life of much memorable doctrine, that would otherwise be buried in forgetfulnesse, wherof I here giue thee a taste, (Christian reader) in publishing this godly Sermon so taken. I haue not willingly missed one word ; whereby, either the truth of doctrine might be peruerted, or the meaning of the Preacher altered. Such is the vse of the Art, whith [*sic*] I haue learned. And as at this daie, God is plentifull in varietie of giftes, so if some occasion had not hindered ; I would haue made thee partaker, (and may heereafter) of other godly mens labour ; in this kinde, that although one cannot heare all : yet by Characterie, the diuerse giftes of God may be communicated to many. Farewell in the Lord.

" Thy well-willer,
" A. S."

The identity of the person screened by these initials can only be guessed at. Mr. Wright ventures the suggestion that Jane Seager may have had a sister Ann as proficient as herself. That would seem a not unreasonable conjecture, but Egerton's reference to "*his* skill in Characterie" points to one of the opposite sex as being responsible for this particular effort.

Stephen Egerton, M.A., the preacher of the sermon, was the Puritan incumbent of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, now united to St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe. Although the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that Egerton was appointed to St. Anne's in 1598, it is evident that he preached there much earlier.¹ The church destroyed by the Great Fire was not, it is true, consecrated until 1597, but the following passage from Stow's *Survey* seems to explain the matter :

"There is a parish of St. Anne," says the annalist, "within the precinct of Blackfriars, which was pulled down with the Frier's Church by Sir Thomas Ca[wa]rden; but in the reign of Queen Mary, he being forced to find a church to the inhabitants, allowed them a lodging chamber above a stair, which since that time, to wit, in the year 1597, fell down, and was again by collection therefore made, new built and enlarged in the same year, and was dedicated on the 11th December."

There can be little doubt that in this humble "lodging chamber above a stair," A. S., whoever he may have been, plied the pen of the ready writer with the ostensible object of perpetuating Master Egerton's eloquence by means of Timothy Bright's uncouth symbols. Nor was the mysterious "A. S." the only one of Egerton's hearers fired with such an ambition. Among the manuscripts of Dawson Turner sold in 1859 was a contemporary transcript of another "lecture" by the St. Anne's preacher on Gen. xvii. 1-3, now in the writer's possession. The title of this interesting relic is :

¹ In White's *Churches and Chapels of Old London* (1901), p. 33, Egerton is said to have been "preacher" at St. Anne's in 1588, and "buried in the church, 1622."

"An Ordinary Lecture of M[r]. Edgertons at the Bl. Fryers on friday the 19. of September 1589. Taken in Charactery by John Lewys, as it was vttered by the Autour."

The MS. consists of ten quarto leaves, containing some 3,500 words; and on the flyleaf is the inscription: "Dawson Turner, given him by his friend, W. S. Fitch, 1838."

These instances furnish incontrovertible evidence that Bright's invention was being turned to practical account within a year of its appearance in print, and we might have had more specimens of Egerton's oratory but for the fact that in 1590 he was incarcerated in the Fleet prison, where he remained for the next year or two. It was after his release that the preacher corrected his sermon, previously printed from the shorthand-writer's notes. In November, 1596, the Puritan shopkeepers and householders of Blackfriars conveyed to the Privy Council their strong protest against the erection of James Burbage's new theatre, then nearing completion, among the objections urged being that "the same playhouse is so neere the Church that the noyse of the drummes and trumpetts will greatly disturbe and hinder both the ministers and parishioners in tyme of devine service and sermons."¹ As this petition, and others which followed, went unregarded, it is to be feared that those who essayed to reproduce the *ipsissima verba* of discourses delivered in the church about that time laboured under disadvantages

¹ Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, seventh ed. (1887), vol. i., p. 304.

other than those assignable to the faultiness of contemporary shorthand systems.

It hardly falls within the scope of this monograph to discuss the baffling but fascinating problem as to the manner in which Shakespeare's plays have been handed down to us, and how far the imperfect attempts of early stenographers are responsible for the perplexing variations found in the quartos and folios. A far bulkier volume would be needed to weigh all the *pros* and *cons* of a question which has been ably treated by Mr. Levy in his *History of Shorthand Writing* (1862) and *Shakespeare and Shorthand* (1884), and by certain German scholars. To the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* for 1898 Dr. Curt Dewischeit contributed an elaborate paper on "Shakespeare und die Stenographie," in which he arrives at these conclusions :

1. In Shakespeare's time the position of shorthand in England was one of considerable importance.

2. The pirated editions of Shakespeare's plays appeared after the shorthand system of Timothy Bright. The numberless mistakes in the quartos, the many contradictions between them and the first authorized folio edition, may therefore be explained at once and most simply by the defects of the shorthand system and the unskilfulness of the stenographers of that day.

3. In all probability Shakespeare was acquainted with Timothy Bright.

The first of these propositions may be accepted as correct, but the second is highly debatable and open to question, while for the third there is not a shadow of foundation in fact. Dr. Dewischeit has brought together much interesting material bearing on these

problems, for which the thanks of shorthand students are due to him, but his deductions cannot be accepted without further investigation and inquiry.

Still less will students of shorthand history feel disposed to acquiesce in the assertions of Mrs. C. M. Pott, who has out-Galluped Gallup (if the expression may be allowed) by calmly ascribing to Francis Bacon, not merely the *Treatise of Melancholy*, but the invention of "characterie" also. "Stenography, or shorthand-writing in the time of Queen Elizabeth," is the title of the article in which this allegation is put forward, and the following extracts will sufficiently indicate its drift:

"The first English book on stenography seems to have been published by T. Bright in 1588. Here we may pause to note three particulars:

"1. T. Bright was Dr. Timothy Bright, under whose name the *Anatomy of Melancholy* was first published in 1587. This edition is entered in the British Museum Catalogue as the work of T. Bright. The subsequent editions take no notice of Bright, but are published under the name of Burton.—'What's in a name?' . . .

"2. T. Bright dedicated his book on shorthand writing to Queen Elizabeth. . . .

"3. At the time of the publication of this book, Francis [Bacon] was 27 years of age, and passing through a period of the greatest leisure which he ever enjoyed. From 1586 to 1590 there is hardly a trace of his doings, but the press was teeming with and issuing works of all kinds — the English Renaissance had begun. . . .

"That Francis not only introduced first the art of shorthand, but that he made good use of it, the present writer does not for an instant doubt. The scanty

records published of his mysterious private life seem in many places to hint, although they do not plainly affirm, that this was the case."¹

The lady goes on to hint that the brachygraphy of Peter Bales must have emanated from the same fruitful source, but it would be futile to quote more. As M. Navarre says, in his monumental *Histoire Générale de la Sténographie* (1909), to those who have studied the life of the great English author there seems to be very little foundation for this unqualified assertion; and it may be added that to those who have studied the life of Timothy Bright the prospect of Francis Bacon being hailed by future generations as the founder of English stenography appears more than ever remote.

¹ *Baconiana*, new series, vol. viii., p. 28 *et seq.* (January, 1900).

CHAPTER VII

HOLY ORDERS

NEXT to the Bible, the most widely-read book in the English language at this time, when the Reformation had reached its zenith, was John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of these latter and perillous Dayes, touching Matters of the Church*, etc., popularly known as the "Book of Martyrs." Originally printed in Latin on the Continent, the first English edition had appeared in 1562-63, and already three further issues (all in folio) had been called for. With many of the scenes described still fresh in their memories, those who could gain access to the work eagerly absorbed the heart-stirring narratives of the martyrologist, and well-worn copies may still be seen chained to the lecterns of some of our parish churches by the side of the Bible itself. With the Puritan clergy, and in almost all English households where Puritanism prevailed, Foxe's *Acts* became the sole authority for Church history, and clergymen repeatedly made its stories of martyrdom the subject of their sermons.

To many, however, the expense¹ of procuring a

¹ The sum paid by the churchwardens of St. Michael, Cornhill, in 1571-72, for their copy of Foxe, according to the Vestry minutes, was £2 2s. 6d., while Magdalen College, Oxford, paid as much as £6 13s. 4d., equal to nearly £50 of our money.

copy was an insuperable obstacle, and its great bulk¹ made it very inconvenient to handle. Another drawback was its want of arrangement and continuity. "The materials," says one of Foxe's editors, "are thrown together in rather a haphazard way. No attempt is made to digest the information collected and to reproduce it in a connected, flowing, harmonious narrative." Such an attempt Timothy Bright now made in setting himself to epitomize Foxe's ponderous though popular tomes, and the result of his labours was the publication of *An Abridgement of the booke of acts and monvmentes of the church: Written by that Reuerend Father, Maister Iohn Fox: and now abridged by Timothe Bright, Doctor of Phisicke, for such as either thorough want of leysure, or abilitie, haue not the vse of so necessary an history. Imprinted at London by I. Windet, at the assignment of Master Tim. Bright, and are to be sold at Pauls wharf, at the signe of the Crossekeyes. Cum gratia, & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.*²

The book appeared in 1589, Foxe having died two years previously; and in dedicating it to "the right Honorable Sir Fravncis Walsingham," who was now one of Elizabeth's secretaries of state, Bright reverted to his unforgettable experience in Paris. "As then you were the very hande of God to preserue my life," he

¹ The first English edition consisted of more than 1,700 closely printed pages, and the second of more than 2,000. All the early editions, except the first, were in two or three volumes.

² Small quarto, black letter. Watt (*Biblio. Brit.*, vol. ii., p. 151) mentions a folio edition in this year, probably in error for the above. The British Museum copy has the bookplate of George Chalmers, F.R.S.S.A., the Scottish antiquary.

wrote, "so haue you (ioyning constancie with kindnes) beene a principall means, whereby the same hath beene since the better sustained. I mention not how I haue beene defended from wrong by your honour, because I would forget the iniurie, and least I shoulde call to minde that which both your Honour would haue forgotten, in respect of the benefit ; and my self, in respect of the parties, who haue been since (in reuerence of your H[onour]) better advised." The last sentences make it manifest that Walsingham was a patron in something more than name, and imply that he had contributed to the doctor's support pecuniarily. Indeed, quite a number of learned and worthy men of his time were indebted to Walsingham's benefactions—such men as Lancelot Andrewes, Thomas Cartwright, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Richard Hakluyt, and Thomas Watson—and Spenser calls him

"The great Macænas of this age,
As wel to al that civil artes professe,
As those that are inspir'd with Martial rage."

The nature of the wrong from which he had protected the doctor is not apparent ; but it may be surmised that the latter is here referring to the proceedings of the College of Physicians against him in 1587. Goodall¹ prints a number of letters from Walsingham to the College on behalf of practitioners who had incurred its displeasure, and it is not unlikely that he interposed similarly in the case of Bright. The doctor concludes his dedicatory epistle with renewed protestations of gratitude for "these so many good turnes," offering the

¹ *Royal College of Physicians* (1684), *passim*.

book as an appropriate "new yeeres gift," and adding quaintly :

"The dedication the rather agreeth with your Honour : for that, had not your Honour beene, my selfe, with a number mō, shoulde at that bucherie of Paris, nowe long agoe beene martyred. . . . As then you were a protector vnto me, so it woulde please you to be a patrone vnto this my labour : least it carrie the destinie in the name, and bee martyred among so many martyrs."

The address "To the Christian Reader" explains the reasons which had induced him to attempt the labour of condensing Foxe's work, of which he is loud in praise : "I assure thee, in mine opinion, there is not a booke, vnder the Scriptures, more necessarie for a Christian to be conuersant in." His own abridgment he defends by what Dr. Moore calls "a sophism, singularly like those in which laudatory reviewers advocate the trivial publications by which, at the present day, hasty readers are invited to acquire the semblance of a knowledge of our great authors."

"Large volumes and Abridgements haue both their vse," he writes ; "and if Abridgements withholde from reading large volumes, because men find the contents of them in brieve : euen as much are large bookes an hinderance to themselves, in discouraging the negligent, and slouthfull by their length. The diligēt man that loueth knowledge, will vse the one for his memory, and the other for his iudgement : and take that vse which both offereth."

Bright's epitome, though not a quarter the size of its original, is by far the largest of his books. It is divided

into five parts, each covering a period of from two to three hundred years, and is brought down to 1572, the year of the Paris massacre. "A speciall note of England," on the page immediately preceding the text, gives some examples of English priority in embracing the reformed religion, and Elizabeth is described as "the verie Maul of the pope, and a Mother of Christian princes." It is quite likely that, on account of its cheapness, Bright's book was almost as much read in its day as Foxe's own volumes, which the doctor urges his readers to procure if they can afford to do so. The *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions an edition of Bright's abridgment dated 1581, doubtless on the authority of Maunsell's *Catalogue*, where it is described as "printed by Iohn Windet, 1581, in 4[to]." ¹ This is palpably a misprint, however, for Windet did not begin business as a printer until 1585. The registers of the Stationers' Company reveal no trace of such an edition, nor is that of 1589 registered in the usual way. The following entry, however, occurs under date :

" 3 Julij [1587]

" Master Denham warden.	Receaued of him for printinge <i>an abridgement of the booke of Martyrs with the pyctures</i> Authourised by the Archbishop of Canterbury . vj ^d " ²
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This can hardly refer to Bright's book, which is entirely innocent of illustrations save for the crude initial

¹ *First Part* of the *Catalogue of English printed Bookes* (1595), p. 23.

² Arber's *Transcript*, vol. ii., p. 473.

woodcut at the head of each chapter. But the latter is the subject of an item in the wardens' accounts for the following year :

“ Master Harryson. The Accompte of ffrauncis Col-
Master Coldock and Henrye Denham Wardens
Master Coldock./ of the Companye of Staconers, for
Master Denham./ all suche sommes of monney as haue
Wardens./ comme to their handes, from the
Tenthe daye of Julye. 1588. vntyll
the Tenthe daye of Julye. 1589. That is to saye, for
one wholle yeere, as followeth./ Viz./ Receiptes./
Charge./ . . . Whereof Layde out as followethe./ viz.
Dyscharge./ . . .

Item paide in necessarye charges in suite and
travayle against master D[octo]r Brighte and master
wyndett aboute the Abridgement of the *booke of*
martyrs, As by the particulers of the saide charges
shewed forth at the audytinge of this Accompte
manifestlie appeared ix^{li} vs^s”¹

The *Book of Martyrs* was a part of the Stationers' English stock, and the company, always jealous of its privileges, appears to have taken umbrage at the publication of an abridgment independent of that already licensed to one of its members. The action against author and printer was, however, foredoomed to failure, the royal patent being the rampart behind which they entrenched themselves ; and the company was mulcted in the sum of £9 5s., after which experience the wardens of a year later wisely deemed it expedient to disburse five shillings in having a copy of the patent made for future reference :

¹ Arber's *Transcript*, vol. i., p. 534.

“ Master Bysshop. The [a]ccoumpte, of Raffe New-
 master./ berye and Gabriell Cawood wardens
 master Newberye of the Companye of Stationers for
 master Cawoodde all such sommes of monney as haue
 wardens/ comme to their handes from the
 the ffyftenthe daie of Julye 1590. vntill
 the ffyftenthe Daye of Julye 1591/ That is to saye for
 one wholle yere/ as followeth/ Viz./ Receiptes;/
 Charge./ . . . Whereof laide out as followethe Viz./
 Discharge/ . . .

Item, paide for the Copie of Doctor Brightes Lycence
 to printe taken out of the Roulles v^s/’¹

It is generally believed that Bright’s was the earliest abridgment of Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*, but if the volume for which Master Denham obtained a licence in 1587 was actually published—no copy is known to exist now—the stenographer’s claim to be first in the field is disposed of. The next abridgment, that of the Rev. Thomas Mason, of Odiham, was issued in 1615, under the title *Christ’s victorie over Sathan’s tyrannie*, and in dedicating it to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir Edward Coke the compiler remarks: “After I had done this Booke, I was discouraged from putting of it to Print, by reason I found another had abridged the Booke of Martyrs before me, but when I perceiued it was done but superficially, for all the points of Religion that the Martyrs defended, or Papists obiected were omitted; (which disputations I chiefly labour to set forth) therevpon I was resoluèd to goe forward.” Slighter epitomes appeared in 1651 and 1676, and subsequent editions have been almost innumerable.

¹ Arber’s *Transcript*, vol. i., p. 547.

Timothy Bright's theological leanings, implied by his self-imposed task of compressing Foxe's martyrology within moderate limits, are emphasized by an interesting entry in the journal of St. Bartholomew's on February 7, 1589-90, which brings to light a hitherto unrecorded episode in the Doctor's career :

" This day m^r D[r] ffletcher came vnto this courte & brought lres from m^r ffanshawe, m^r ffuller, & m^r Broughton, in the behalf of m^r D[r] Bright to be curate of Christe church & offereth to bring lres from my lord Bisshopp [*sic*] of Canterbury his grace, & from my L. Bisshop of london & hath day for Aunswere to be given therein vntill the next courte."¹

The next Court was held six days later, and at its conclusion the following was noted on the minutes :

" This day my Lorde grace of Canterbury, brought his lres to this courte in the behalf of m^r D[r]. Bright whether also came m^r D[r] ffletcher, & m^r Ffuller, and made request to the court in his behalf, for the rome & place that M^r Salter had in Christe church ; At whose earnest sute, order is taken by this courte, that the said m^r D[r] Bright shall haue the same rome & place, with the stipend therto belonginge ffor the w^{ch} he promiseth to discharge the cure either himself or his sufficient deputie and to preach vsually on the saboth day, & in consideracon thereof the pishion^rs of Christe church are content to enlarge his salarie. The said m^r D[r] Bright to come into the said rome at our Lady day next & to continew therin so long as he shall sufficientlie discharge the same."

For the clearer understanding of these entries it is necessary that a few facts should be set down briefly.

¹ St. Bartholomew's MS. Journal, no. 3, fol. 47b.

The old monastic church of the Grey Friars, or Franciscans, was consecrated in 1325 ; but in 1546, by the terms of the indenture between Henry VIII. and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City, it was made to serve for the use of the united parishes of St. Nicholas, St. Ewen, and so much of the parish of St. Sepulchre as lay within Newgate, under the name of Christ Church. It was to be provided with " one preist sufficient learned to declare preach and teach the worde of God trulie and sincerely to the comon people which shall be called Vicar thear, one other preist which shall be called the Visitor of Newgate, five other preistes of the said parish of Christ Church aforesaid," two clerks, and a sexton ; the advowson to be in the hands of the Mayor and Corporation, as Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The Vicar of Christ Church at the period with which we are concerned was John Bell, and it is practically certain that Bright was made one of the five " other preistes," who were to be "*in auxili^m vicarii ibidem ad divina servicia celebranda et ad sacramenta et sacramentalia ibidem ministranda,*" and were thus really curates with a freehold, receiving " for their stipend and wages eight pounds yerelie." Unfortunately the registers from 1588 to 1666 are missing ; they almost certainly perished in the Great Fire with the old church, part of the site of which is occupied by the present building. It stood a little to the north of Newgate Street, and adjoined Christ's Hospital. Their propinquity naturally led to a close connection between the church and the famous " Blue-coat School," a connection which remained unsundered until the school's removal to Horsham. Indeed, ever

since it has borne the name, Christ Church has served as the chapel of the school, and the "Blues" have formed by far the greater part of its congregation. When Timothy Bright became associated with it, Christ Church was one of the most magnificent edifices in London. It measured 300 feet in length, 89 feet in breadth, and 64 feet from the pavement to the roof; it was paved throughout with marble, the columns being of the same material. It had a large choir and an enormous nave, and must have been well supplied with side chapels which could have been set apart for the use of the children.¹

Among the men who, by their letters of recommendation and personal overtures, helped Bright to this, his first clerical appointment, it is of some interest to find Archbishop Whitgift, whose mastership of Trinity College had covered the greater part of Bright's residence there, and John Aylmer, Bishop of London, a vigorous opponent of Papists and Puritans alike, against whom were directed some of "Marprelate's" keenest shafts; for the patronage of these two prelates in itself attests that the doctor was free from all suspicion of leanings towards the Puritanism which both were firmly resolved to suppress. Of the others whose good offices were exerted in our physician's favour at this time, one has little difficulty in recognizing Whitgift's chaplain, Richard Fletcher, D.D., newly consecrated Bishop of Bristol;² Aylmer's friend Hugh Broughton, the learned

¹ Rev. E. H. Pearce's *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (1901), p. 191.

² Fletcher had a house of his own at Chelsea, where he chiefly resided, spending much more of his time at Court than in his diocese (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

hebraist and rabbinical scholar ; and Thomas Fanshawe, Remembrancer of the Exchequer ; all of whom were Cambridge men, the last-named being also a parishioner of Christ Church. As for "mr ffuller," he may not improbably be identified with Nicholas Fuller, another distinguished Hebrew scholar and divine, who sedulously applied himself to the study of languages, especially in their bearing on theology. With such influential patrons as these, it is not to be wondered at that Bright's advancement in his new profession was rapid. Within a few months of his appointment as a curate in London—on July 19, 1590, to be exact—he was preferred to the Rectory of Stanford Rivers, a scattered parish near Ongar, in Essex, with a living valued at £26 13s. 4d. This information is gleaned from the list of draft presentations of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Public Record Office, in which he is styled "minister of ye word and sacraments, and Doctor of Physic." There is no record of Bright at Stanford Rivers, however, and it is probable that he was never instituted.¹ A month later his successor as physician of St. Bartholomew's had been elected in the person of Dr. Ralph Wilkinson, a Fellow of Trinity College, on the recommendation of Lord Chancellor Hatton ; but for a time

¹ In this year appeared a work by Rudolph Goclenius, Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the University of Marburg, entitled $\Psi\tau\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron\Gamma\iota\alpha$: *hoc est, De Hominis Perfectione*, to which short essays on abstruse points of theology and philosophy were contributed by eleven writers. The only English name appears to be that of Timothy Bright, whose share of the work consists of a few pages of *Animadversiones "De Traduce"* of little interest to modern readers. The "*Epistola Dedicatoria*" of Goclenius's book, which was published at Marburg, is dated July 15, 1590.

Wilkinson was supplanted by Thomas D'Oyley, a Fellow of the College of Physicians, who came with the Queen's own letters on September 19, 1590—"her Mat^{ie} havinge informacon of the rome & place of m^r Bright Doctor to the poore of this howse to be voide"—and who was nominated a month later. This fact led Mr. Thomson Cooper into the mistake of supposing that Bright "must have resigned in 1590." Towards the end of the year, however, a note was entered in the hospital journal to the effect that "m^r D[r]. Bryght & the Surgions of this howse shalbe warned to the next Courte"; and on March 13, 1590-91, we read:

"This day came m^r D[r.] Bright vppon warninge given him And whearas he beinge heartofore shewed That he did not observe such orders as apptaynethe vnto his office, he made requeste that he mighte vnderstande therof in wrytinge. The w^{ch} beinge redd vnto him, m^r D[r] desired that he may have a copy therof And that then he wold give aunswere therunto: It is therefore ordered That therbe a copy therof delivered vnto him And that then m^r D[r. is] to give aunswere therevnto at the next Courte."

No doubt the addition to his income from his new post was acceptable enough to the priest-physician, but he evidently found it no easy matter to cope with the double duties of his combined offices, or it may be that his obsession in shorthand studies made too heavy demands upon his time. Whatever the cause, the unhappy patients who looked to him for treatment and advice were about this time sadly neglected. Only a month after the date of the last entry—on April 17,

1591—the governors found it needful again to admonish him, and to introduce a fresh regulation :

“ m^r D: Brighte. This day order is taken for that the Doctor of this howse dothe not execute his office about the poore in such sorte as he ought to doe, for not p^rscribing such medicynes vnto the Apothecarie as should be mynistred the next day followinge vnto the poore. That there shalbe a booke bought whearin m^r. Doctor vppon the Munday & Thursday morninge in eu^ry weake shall sett downe the names of the patyents of the poor And suche medycynes as he shall thinke requisyte to be mynistred vnto them, The which the Apothecaree shall dewly execute accordinge to his dyreccion the nexte Day following. And that the order of the office of the D: be made pfitt And entered in to the said book whearby he may from tyme to tyme observe the dewe forme of the said order.”

The “ order ” referred to in this and the preceding minutes was doubtless couched in much the same terms as that subscribed to by Harvey and the later physicians, printed on pp. 38-39. The warning, however, seems to have had little effect, and in the following August matters had reached a climax. On the twenty-first of that month this note is entered :

“ This day it is ordered & agreed for that D: Bright hath bine often warned for neglectinge his dewty about the poore of this howse That there be staye made of suche billetts & coles w^{ch} sholde be dewe vnto him And that he shall have knowlege & warninge to depte at Michellmas nexte ” [*i.e.*, September 29, 1591].

Thus abruptly ended Timothy Bright's association with the famous old hospital. No explanation of the mis-

conduct imputed to him is forthcoming—nothing but the bare record of his summary dismissal from the post he had occupied during half-a-dozen eventful years. We have seen that Dr. D'Oyley had secured the reversion of the physician's office ; and on March 4, 1591-92, he is referred to as " D^r to this howse," showing that Bright had gone.

Meanwhile, signs are not wanting that the young and tender plant ingrafted by the doctor was beginning to fructify. Bright's charactery had been gaining adherents, who busied themselves in experimenting with the new art, and endeavoured with varying success to report the sermons of the leading divines of the day by its means. Perhaps the most popular of those divines was Henry Smith, Puritan reader or " lecturer " at St. Clement Danes, in the Strand. Smith was warmly patronized by Burghley ; his contemporaries named him " silver-tongued Smith " and " the Chrysostom of England " ; his church was crowded to excess ; and the highest as well as the humblest in the land flocked to hear him, taking with them their own " pues," as old Fuller quaintly calls the three-legged stools upon which they stood in the aisles. Says a modern writer : " Probably the prose writings of this, the richest period of genuine English literature, contain nothing finer than some of his sermons ; and we are disposed to think that no English preacher has since excelled him in the proper attributes of pulpit eloquence. They are free to an astonishing degree from the besetting vices of his age—vulgarity and quaintness and affected learning ; and he was one of the first of those who, without submitting

to the trammels of a pedantic logic, conveyed in language nervous, pure, and beautiful, the most convincing arguments in the most lucid order, and made them the groundwork of fervent and impassioned addresses to the conscience."¹ Can it be wondered at that one of the first uses to which the newly-revived art of shorthand was applied was the reporting of these eloquent discourses? A little black-letter booklet of forty-two pages, published in 1590, had for its title: *A Sermon of the benefite of Contentation. By H. Smyth. Taken by Characterie. London. Printed by Roger Ward, for Iohn Proctor, and are to be sold at his shop vpon Holborne bridge.* Says the printer, in a brief address to the reader:

"Ther came to my handes (gentle Reader) the copie of a Sermon, which intreateth of couetousnes, which though it were not the authors minde or consent that it shoulde come foorth thus in market, yet considering that it is a doctrine so necessarie for these dayes, wherein it [is] said, that Charitie shall waxe colde, I thought good to commit it to the presse, preferring the profit and vtility of many in publishing it, before the pleasure of the Authour in concealing it."

In spite of this protestation of disinterestedness, we may take it that the publisher had an eye to his own pecuniary profit as much as the spiritual profit of the public for whom he professes so much solicitude. In this instance neither the name nor initials of the scribe are divulged. His efforts evidently met with no unkind reception, for in the same year another unauthorized

¹ Rev. J. B. Marsden's *History of the Early Puritans*, second edition (1853), pp. 182, 183.

edition of the same sermon appeared, entitled *The benefite of Contentation. By H. Smith. Taken by Characterie, and examined after. London, Printed by Abell Ieffes for Roger Ward.* The publication of this sermon a second time without his consent, and in a mutilated form, drew from the preacher a mild protest ; and in 1591 he himself published it under the following title : *The benefite of contentation. Newly examined and corrected by the Author. London. Printed by Abell Ieffes.* Smith's preface goes to show that the reporters' work was, as might be expected, very imperfectly done. "Hearinge," he says, "howe fast this Sermon hath vttered & yet how miserablie it hath bin abused in Printing, as it were with whole lims cut off at once, and cleane left out, I haue taken a little paines (as my sicknesse gaue me leaue) both to perfit the matter, and to correct the print." *The Wedding Garment*, another sermon which had been printed surreptitiously, was also corrected by Smith, and issued by him in 1590. "To controll those false coppies of this Sermon, whiche were printed without my knowledge (patched as it seemeth) out of some borrowed notes, and to stoppe the Printing of it againe without my corrections, as it was intended, because they had gotte it licensed before, although vtterly vnwilling for some respects to haue it published, which made mee withstand their importunity so long, yet seeing more inconuenience then I thought of, I suffered that which I could not hinder."

Not at all discouraged by his very indifferent success, the shorthand writer continued his work, and there appeared *A fruitfull sermon, Vpon part of the 5. Chapter*

of the first Epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, By Henrie Smith. Which Sermon being taken by Characterie, is now published for the benefite of the faithfull. At London, Printed for Nicholas Ling. 1591. An edition with the same title was "printed for the widdowe Broome, 1591," and in that year yet another popular discourse of the silver-tongued preacher, *The Examination of vsurie, in two Sermons*, was issued surreptitiously, having been "taken by Characterie, and after examined."¹

It is quite clear from these instances that in spite of its drawbacks—and they are neither small nor few—Bright's invention was employed for practical purposes within a short time after it had been given to the world, and that the new art was welcomed as a means of preserving the utterances of the Protestant preachers of those days. As Lord Rosebery pointed out in his presidential address at the opening of the first International Shorthand Congress, the publication of Bright's treatise had its origin in the Reformation, and was a direct "consequence of the eagerness that was shown to take down and record the sermons that were preached on an event which moved the nation so deeply that the study of shorthand was systematically and enthusiastically pursued." We have no means of ascertaining now to what extent the early shorthand writers curtailed the flow of eloquence they sought to preserve, for it is incredible that anything approaching *verbatim* reporting could be achieved with the crude materials at their disposal, unless the rate of public speaking has much

¹ Mr. Thompson Cooper, F.S.A., was the first to call attention to these examples of early shorthand reporting in *Notes and Queries*, eighth series, vol. x., pp. 189, 190 (September 5, 1896).

increased in rapidity during the last three centuries. An inquiry in *Notes and Queries*¹ elicited only the fact that some difference of opinion exists on this subject, and the probability is that we shall never be able to reduce the rate of Elizabethan oratory to the modern formula of words per minute. We have the testimony of Stephen Egerton that "the swiftest hand cometh often short of the slowest tongue"; yet in view of the immature state of the reporting art at the time of their delivery, the discourses of Smith and Egerton which we know to have been taken by charactery exhibit a coherence and continuity not a little remarkable: they furnish yet another instance of that splendid determination and power of surmounting difficulties which characterized the men whose contemporaries crippled the mighty Armada.

As to whether Timothy Bright applied his invention to his medical work, there is no positive evidence. Sir William Gowers considers it "almost inconceivable that he did not, when we consider the testimony afforded by Samuel Pepys to the use of shorthand for personal writing"; but Pepys at least had a fairly efficient instrument to hand in Shelton's tachygraphy, while Bright could hardly have trusted himself to record the symptoms and diseases of patients by a method so clumsy as his own, in which *ague* might be read for *apoplexy*, *colic* for *cramp*, *palsy* for *pleurisy*, and so forth. Certain it is, however, that medicine and shorthand have been closely associated from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. One of Bright's earliest

¹ Tenth series, vol. viii., pp. 130, 415; vol. ix., pp. 38, 297, 313.

followers in shorthand authorship, William Folkingham, designates himself "*mathesios et medicinæ studiosus*." In addition to his *Brachigraphy, Post-writ* (1620), Folkingham was author of *Panala, Ala Catholica, or A compound Ale: which is a generall Purge and generous Medicin for most infirmities incident to the Bodie of Man*; and this ran into a second edition, issued a year or two later with the sub-title: *A fruitfull and frugall Nourse of sound Health and Long Life*.

More than one eminent practitioner of physic has dabbled in the fascinating pursuit of shorthand "invention." Of Gerard van Swieten, who wrote a commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hermann Boerhaave, and lectured on pharmacy, it is said that "by adapting shorthand to the Latin tongue he took the *dicta* almost verbatim." About the middle of the eighteenth century Erasmus Darwin, M.B., corresponded with Thomas Gurney on the subject of stenography, and a specimen of his writing is included in the early editions of Gurney's manual. "The book I learned shorthand from," said Darwin, "was published by Gurney, and said to be an improvement on Mason; other treatises of shorthand I have also examined and found them all nearly of equal excellence. I can only add that many volumes I wrote from medical lectures I now find difficult to decipher; and that I believe this art is still capable of improvement by first forming a more accurate alphabet than that in common use amongst the European nations."¹ In accordance with this view, Darwin made various experiments in the construction of a shorthand

¹ *Phonetic Journal*, vol. xxxix. (1880), p. 334.

alphabet, which he left in a MS. notebook, the first page of which is inscribed: *Shorthand, or the art of writing quick and concisely*. A shorthand alphabet of fifteen letters, the invention of William Blair, M.A., surgeon, was appended to the second and later editions of Harding's *Universal Stenography*. Blair is said to have published also a *Chronological and Comparative View of 22 Original Alphabets of Shorthand, selected out of about a hundred which have appeared in England since the year 1588*. One of the most recent members of the faculty to enter the lists as a shorthand "inventor" is Robert Wailes, M.D., who issued *The Reporter's Manual of Phonographic Shorthand* (1874), and several later works. In 1894 was founded the Society of Medical Phonographers, which now numbers fully 150 members. Sir William R. Gowers, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., the President, delivered an inaugural address on "Writing and Shorthand in Medical and Scientific Work" on July 30, 1895.

An interesting link between "Bart's" and the art of photographing speech has been brought to light by Mr. Levy. In 1824 that eccentric genius, Dr. Abernethy, who had been assistant-surgeon at the hospital since 1787, proceeded against the proprietors of the *Lancet* to restrain them from publishing certain of his lectures at St. Bartholomew's. An incidental question was raised as to how the defendants obtained the lectures. Dr. Abernethy believed they were taken down in shorthand by someone attending the class, but the defendants do not appear to have informed the Court how they became possessed of the means of publishing the work.

The Lord Chancellor said it was clear, if the lectures had been published from shorthand writer’s notes, the notes had been taken by some student or some intruder into the lecture-room.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that “ Bright’s disease ” is *not* named after the “ father of modern shorthand.” That distinction belongs to a physician of two centuries later, Dr. Richard Bright, who was the first to investigate the nature of a certain form of nephritis, or disease of the kidneys. He published the results of his inquiries in *Reports of Medical Cases* (1827).

CHAPTER VIII

A YORKSHIRE RECTOR'S TROUBLES

THE termination of his connection with St. Bartholomew's marks the close of Bright's life in London. His presentation to Stanford Rivers, as we have seen, did not take effect, but another living was quickly found for him. On June 8, 1591, a presentation had been drafted for him to the Rectory of Methley,¹ a village six miles from Wakefield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which had become vacant by the death of Otho Hunt only a few days previously ; and on July 5—a full month before he received notice to quit the hospital—he was instituted to the benefice : the obvious inference from which is that this new appointment and the doctor's abrupt departure from London were not unconnected, the one being in some degree consequent on the other.

Methley, Meadley, or—as Domesday has it, and as the vulgar still call it—Medelai, is said by Camden and other authorities to derive its name from its position between the Aire and the Calder, while some look upon it rather as signifying a meadow-place. “ There abides

¹ Duchy of Lancaster draft presentations, Public Record Office.

about the name of Methley," writes one of its panegyrists, "the sweetest aroma of English pastoral life and traditions. Elsewhere sun and sky may be brighter, and the rolling downs wider; there may be loftier hills and boundless plains; but nowhere is the velvet carpet of the English meadows exceeded in greenness, or the scent of the new-mown hay exceeded in fragrance." At the Conquest Methley was held as two manors by the Danes Osulf and Cnut, and two manors it is yet—Methley and Mickletown, the former in the vale or Calder, the latter in the vale of Aire. It had a church in the Saxon times dedicated to St. Oswald, with a living valued in the *Liber Regis* at £25 8s. 6½d.; but the original building was replaced by the present one in 1424. It is a stone edifice in the Middle Gothic style, consisting of chancel, with south chantry, nave, aisles, and an embattled western tower, with spire, containing a clock and three bells, all dating from 1813. There were three bells at the time of the survey in 1552, and there is a tradition that when the Savile family removed from Stainland to Methley, the bells from Stainland chapel were also transferred to Methley. With ivy clinging to its walls, the church is one of the most picturesque in the West Riding, and, if only on account of the number of handsome monuments it boasts, one of the most interesting. It was restored in 1901 at a cost of £5,000.

To Methley Bright must have journeyed with his family immediately after his dismissal from "Bart's." At his institution he presented to the Archbishop Her Majesty's letters of revocation of the appointment of

Edward Smyth, clerk ; and he read and subscribed to the Articles of 1562.¹ Mr. J. Eglington Bailey concluded that the gift of this benefice was " due to his [Bright's] old patron Sir Francis Walsingham, who had become Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to which the presentation appertains";² but Walsingham died on April 6, 1590, and was succeeded in the Chancellorship by Sir Thomas Heneage. Dr. Whitaker³ prints a " close catalogue of the rectors of Methley, extracted from Torre's *Archdeaconry of York* (p. 781)," in which Queen Elizabeth is given as the patroness. Still, it is quite likely that Walsingham's friendship was an important factor in securing for Bright this valuable living. Only a year or two before, the Methley estate had been acquired by John Savile,⁴ of Bradley, afterwards Sir John Savile, Baron of the Exchequer ; and the sub-joined document, lately brought to light by the present

¹ Institution Register Sandes, fol. 235.

² *Notes and Queries*, fifth series, vol. iv., p. 430 (November 27, 1875).

³ *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), p. 273.

⁴ Sir John Savile, eldest son of Henry Savile, of Bradley, must be distinguished from a contemporary John Savile, first Baron Savile of Pontefract. He was born in 1546, entered the Middle Temple, where he was Autumn Reader in 1586, and appears to have become owner of Methley about 1588 (*Walks in Yorkshire : Wakefield and its Neighbourhood*, by W. S. Banks, 1871, pp. 191-192). He practised in the Exchequer Court, and in 1581 became Justice of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, in 1582 Commissioner for Taxing the Subsidy in the West Riding, and in 1598 Baron of the Exchequer. He was knighted by James I. on July 23, 1603 ; died February 2, 1606-07 ; and was buried in the church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, Fleet Street, London. His heart was conveyed to Methley, where some years later a handsome monument was erected to his memory. (See his *Autobiography*, translated from the Latin, in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xv., 1900, pp. 420-427.)



METHLEY CHURCH.

Rector of Methley, the Ven. H. Armstrong Hall, suggests that there was another influence at work :

“ M^d that I Tymothie Bright clerke doctor of phisicke and pson of the Churche of Meathley, do p^mis faithfully by theis p^sents to John Savile of Bradley esquier, That yf at any tyme I the said Tymothie Bright shalbe mynded either to resigne, or otherwise to do any acte whearby the same psonage shall become voyde, That I the said Tymothie Bright shall not only first give notice & understandinge thearof to the said John Savile, But also shall Joyne wth the said John Savile & do all myne indeavour to advaunce & pferr such godly & honest pson to be p^sented to the same psonage as the said John Savile shall noi^ate, So that the same pson shalbe comended either by the lord Archbishopp of Yorke ordinary of the place, or by the lord Archbishopp of Canterbury to be a fitt pson for the same. And I do further p^mis that I will not reveale my such p^rpose of givinge ov^r the said psonage to any pson whearby the clerke so to be noi^ated by the said John Savile shall or may be p^vented thearof by any such pson as shall seme to be the next Incumbent thearof after me. In witness whearof hearunto I have sett my hand the Tenthe daie of Julie in the xxxiiith yeare of the raigne of o^r sovraigne lady quene Elizabethe 1591.

“ per me TIMOTHEŪ BRIGHT.

“ Witnesses hearof

p me ROBTM WEBSTER test.

“ JOHN NALSON,

“ WILLM CARTWRIGHT.”

This “ memorandum,” the date of which, it is to be noticed, is only five days after Bright’s institution to the living, savours strongly of simoniacal intrigue. Such a compact, at such a time, between Rector and Lord of the

Manor inevitably conveys the impression that the former was to a great extent in Savile's hands, and that his appointment was "as much due to the lawyer as to Cecil, shorthand, or sound doctrine."¹ Probably we shall never know all the circumstances under which Bright's pledge was given, but on the face of it the transaction was one reflecting little credit upon either of the parties.

Of the new Rector's first year at Methley there is nothing to record ; but the parish register shows that on August 24, 1592—the twentieth anniversary of "Black Bartholomew's Day"—was buried William Bright, "father of Doctor Bright." This entry supplies all that is known with certainty of Bright's parents ; apparently his father had accompanied him with a view to spend the evening of his days in the rustic quietude of a Yorkshire rectory. Scarcely could the Rector have recovered from the blow of this domestic affliction when he became involved in a serious dispute concerning the payment of tithes. On February 8, 1592-93 a petition was presented to Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, by Thomas Marshall of Rothwell, a parish about three miles from Methley.

Marshall states that he is tenant at will to one Robert Laborne of Methley, of certain pasture-lands "lyenge within the parishe and tithable places of Meathley"; and that from time immemorial a *modus*, or special rate of tithing, the particulars of which he sets out at length, had obtained in the parish. It would appear that tithe

¹ *Dr. Timothy Bright : Some Troubles of an Elizabethan Rector*, by the Ven. H. Armstrong Hall (reprinted from the Thoresby Society's *Miscellanea*, vol. xv., 1905, pp. 30-37).

had never been paid in kind,¹ in the ordinary way, but that the parson received a pecuniary compensation—a penny for each cow, another for its milk, three-halfpence for tithe hens, a penny for every frame of honey, and so forth—usage permitting him only under certain conditions to appropriate to himself an occasional lamb, pig, or goose. The herbage tithe, with which the petitioner was chiefly concerned, he declares to have been fourpence per acre for meadow-land, threepence per acre for “leaze or other grounde vsed for meadowe.” Such had been the custom, according to Marshall, until the advent of the new Rector.

“But nowe so it is if it maie please yo^r hono^r that one Tymothie Bright clearke docto^r of Phisicke nowe pson of the saide parishe of meathley seekinge to innovate alt^r & chaunge the auncient customes of the saide parishe refuseth to receaue the saide somes of money att the hands of yo^r orato^r & others of the saide parishe who in gentle & frendlie mann^r haue sondrie tymes offered to him the same since the feast of Easter last past notwithstandinge he himselfe by a like vsage by reason of his saide pmocion is bound yearlie to finde a bull and a boare & also att his owne charge to fynde & carie to the church of methley two loads of strawe to be there imployed in the pues or stals of the church w^{ch} he refuseth And forasmuch as there be diu^s witnesses verie aged yet lyvinge the w^{ch} can testifie & sett downe vpon their oathes the saide rat[e]s and customes of tytheinge & the saide rate and custome for

¹ It was formerly the general practice for tithes to be collected “in kind,” every tenth sheaf of corn, every tenth lamb, every tenth day’s milk, etc., being claimed by the clergyman. In 1836 the Tithe Commutation Act substituted for this inconvenient mode of paying the parson’s dues a monetary value or rent-charge, calculated on the seven years’ corn average.

tytheinge inviolable to haue bene obserued & yet that notwithstandinge he the saide Tymothie Bright of purpose to extort their testimonie & hoapinge of their deaths will neither accepte the saide rate of tytheinge nor comence anie suite wherby the saide customes of tytheinge might or maie by anie ordinarie course of lawe be drawn in question pbacon or triall duringe the lyves of the saide auncient psons yet so lyvinge and able to testifie the same : And for somuch as the cheife witnesses of yo^r saide orato^r w^{ch} can best testifie the p^rmisses and the saide rat[e]s & customes before exp^rssed & whervpon the cheife title not onlie of yo^r orato^r but also of all other the inhabitants of the saide parishe concerninge the saide rat[e]s & customes of tytheinge doth cheiflie depend if the w^{ch} saide witnesses nowe beinge verie aged & impotent not likelie longe to lyve shoulde die then yo^r poore orato^{rs} saide rate & custome of tytheinge before exp^rssed might be greatlie [im]p[er]illed & indaungered for lack of due p[r]offe to testifie the p^rmisses : And for so much also as the saide witnesses be not able to trauell from their dwellinge houses to anie ordinarie Court or place where the triall of the saide rate and customes of tytheinge aforesaide maie or shall ordinarilie come in question triall or pbacon to testifie their knowledge in the p^rmisses as by comon order apptayneth by whose deaths or absence yo^r saide orato^r & other the inhabitants of the saide parishe be like to sustaine greate losse & hindrance: yt maie therfore please yo^r good Lordsh: to graunt vnto yo^r saide orato^r the quenes mat^{ties} writt of *sub pena* to be directed to the saide Tymothie Bright comaundinge him for the examinacion of the saide witnesses *ad ppetua rei memoria* or els to shewe cause why yo^r saide orato^r shoulde not haue a Comission out of the saide Court for that purpose alone to be directed to some psons of creditt dwellinge in those parts & to be referred into the said Court of Chauncerie and there to be published at such tyme as

youre hono^r shall thinke meete and convenient And yo^r saide orato^r shall dailie praie vnto god for yo^r good Lordsh: in health and hono^r longe to contynue."¹

Without actually rebutting the grave accusations embodied in this long-winded petition, the Rector set up a plea of "demurrer in law," on the ground that the plaintiff was not legally entitled to relief.

"The cause and Demurrer of Tymothie Bright Clark Defdt To the Bill of Compl^t of Thomas Marshall Complaynant.

"The said Defdt humblye demaundeth the Judgmet of this honorable Courte of the said Bill for Dyur^s Apparant ffalts and Insuffecienses therein Apparant And if he this Defdt shalbe compelled to Joyne in commission wth the said Compl^t for he this Defdt sayeth that the said Bill is Incerteyne and Insuffecient for dyur^s causes therein Appearinge And first for that the Compl^t in or by his said Bill dothe Intitle him selfe to some closes wthin the parrishe and Tithable places of Meathley as Tenant at will and dothe not shewe how longe he hath bene anye suche tenant nor whether he keepith anye Cattle or other things vpon the same Subiect to anye the Parts pporzons or Stynte of Tythyng in the Bill mencioned for w^{ch} or wherebye he maye be chardged nor of what vallew the Tythes or Parte wherewth he maye be chardged doe Amount vnto nor certeynlye what kynde of cattle or what Parts pportion or Stynt he owghte to paye nor whether he haith Tendred or offred the same to this Defdt By reason whereof it maye Appeare that the saide Bill is raher Exhebitd by some practyse or combynacon to Examyne witnesses [to] this Defs greate Disadvantage A Custome p^rtended by one of no

¹ Proceedings in Chancery, 34 Elizabeth, M.m. 13 (No. 16), Public Record Office.

Certeayne Contynuanee soe as if he ffaile to pve his Assercon this Deftt shall rather Lose his [ch]arge And make waye for his Trowblesom prishioners to Seeke other Advantage then thereby gayne anye Benefitt or quietness to himselfe or his charge ffor w^{ch} cause and for that if anye suche Parte pporcon or Custome for Tythinge as in the Bill is mencioned haith bene vsed as in truthe there haith not bene the said Complainant and all other prishioners maye pleade the same and haue there Advantage thereof eyther in the Ecclesiasticall Courte in the consistrie At york before the official of the Rev^d ffather in god the Archbusshopp of york ordinarie there where this Defdt haith Alreadie Comenced sute Against the plaintyve and proceded therein soe as the plaintyve is Excommunicated and soe restith and standith Excommunicate or by phibicōn att the Comon Lawe where suche customes arr Triable And for that the plaintyve if he will Appeare and Answere in the Ecclesiasticall Courte maye there pleade and p^resentlye Examyne the said custome where he this Defdt willbe readie to pceede in cours of Lawe wthout anye Delaye he this Defdt therefore Demurreth in Lawe of the said Bill and shewth the p^rmisses for his cause wherefore noe suche comis-sion as in the Bill is prayed should be Allowed And therefore Humblie prayeth that noe suche commissiō maye be Awarded And that he maye be dismissed wth his costs and Chardges in this behalfe most wrongfullye susteyned."

These documents throw a good deal of light on the local customs which Bright was accused of violating ; and the primitive character of the services of three hundred years ago is vividly brought home by mention of the Rector's obligation to supply straw for use in the pews of his church. If the charges laid at his door were but half true he was indeed a sorry custodian of the

trust reposed in him. To make matters worse for Bright, the cause of Marshall and the rest of his "trowblesom prishioners" was espoused by the Lord of the Manor himself, as the following appeal, which the Rector laid before the Lord Keeper a month or two later, makes clear :

"Humble complayninge sheweth vnto yo^r hono^r Timothie Bright Clerke incumbent of the Rectorie of Methley in Yorkshire That wheras Tythe haye hath bene paid in kinde for the space of xvij or xviii yeares in y^t pishe, nowe one m^r John Savell Lorde of the Towne by a late purchase of three or foure yeares, a lawier and of great accompte in y^t cuntrie, deteineth the same, due vnto yo^r Orator and which he himself hath twoe yeares payd & one yeare to yo^r Orator and furthermore hath ainimated straungers namelie one Marshall that haue hired certaine gresse in Methleye onelie as tenaunts at will (for tithe herbage wherof sute is comenced against them, and is vpon the pointe of sentence at Yorke) to putt vp a bill of supplicacon vnto yo^r honor to graunt them comission *ad ppetua rei memoria* out of the Courte of Chauncerye herby intendinge to examine the inhabitants there beinge interested therin, and pties concerninge certaine customes of tithinge, wherby they hope to take from yo^r said Orator diuers tithes contrarie to the vsage for many yeares paste, wherby yo^r Orator is and may be more heraft^r drawne to greate charges and sutes farre aboue his abilitie, and disturbance of his vocacon beinge a preacher. In consideracon wherof he moste humble craveth yo^r Lordships favour That M^r Savell be called before yo^r hono^r And the Cause may without further expence and interruption of yo^r Orators vocacon (the iourney farre and the cause wherupon this Comission is sought for vpon the pointe of sentence in the Civill Courte at Yorke) be taken vpp

by yo^r good Lordshipp vpon yo^r hono^rs hearinge the cause, or be pmitted to be determined in the Ecclesiasticall Courte at Yorke from whence they may haue phibition yf they finde iuste cause. Herin y^r Lordships Orato^r shalbe bounde to pray for yo^r good Lordshippe in health & hono^r longe to contynue.

“Yo^r Lo^rpps daylie Orato^r TIMOTHIE BRIGHT.”

This petition was referred by Puckering to the squire, who rejoined by traversing most of Bright's statements, and maintained that the only hay tithe paid in the past had been fourpence per acre for meadow, and threepence per acre for arable converted. Although admitting that the last incumbent, Otho Hunt, had “made variance” and insisted upon tithe in kind, he held that without the consent of the Lord of the Manor this action could not affect the custom. He himself, he said, had never paid tithe in kind, but “the pson being indebted to the defendt,” tithe due from the latter was regarded as a *per contra* account. Savile then proceeded to suggest, as Marshall had done, a Commission to take evidence locally, and so decide the dispute, observing that it was a pity the doctor would not abide by a single test-case instead of worrying all concerned with summonses. “And in respecte the pl^t is a Phisicon and continually practiseth the same,” he continued, “therebie he is more drawn from his vocacon then by this suite wherein he might have appeared by Attorney (& no personal appearance requisite) . . . although his practice of Phisicke draweth him upon hollidaies to leave his charge destitute. And this jorney being nedeles to London in this sute, but it is certaine he was bounde

for his personal appearance before y^r Lordship at the suite of one Hunt of Leceister or Nottinghamshire and also attached at the suite of one Swaine of Buckingham or Bedfordshire."

The disclosure here casually made that the Rector had by no means abandoned his old love—medicine—is decidedly interesting, and there is good reason to believe that his devotion to this study remained constant to the end. Perhaps he would have subscribed to Sir Thomas Browne's avowal: "I can cure vices by physick when they remain incurable by divinity, they shall obey my pills when they contemn their precepts." Either in consequence of Marshall's suit or of others, as Savile alleged, he had found it necessary to revisit London, where he could always replenish his stock-in-trade.

A few months previous to Savile's complaint Bright's parishioners had themselves supplicated the Archbishop of York to put some check upon the litigious parson, and, in a letter of delightful *naïveté*, confirmed the accusations of the Lord of the Manor as to Bright's evasion of his responsibilities and grasping demands in the matter of tithes:

"To the most Reënd Father in God and their good lord the lord Archbishopp of Yorke, primat and metropolitan of England.

"Humble shewen unto yo^r grace y^e pishners of Meathley in y^r graces dioces of Yorke, That whereas Mr. Tymothie Bright doctør of phisick was about one yeare and a halfe last paste instituted by yo^r grace pson of the Church of Meathley being a very worshippingfull yving, And your orators in far more larg mann^r and uantytte sythen his incumbeinge thear yeilded to him

all mann^r of tythes growing w^{thin} y^e pisshe then ever was before in his pdecessors tymes, yet nowe y^e said Doctor Bright seeketh to innovate newe tythes never answeared either in y^e same pisshe or in any pisshe of y^e westriding of your graces dioces that is a haie tythe of herbage of such as aguist¹ their cattell with y^r orators or take y^e same in lease of y^r poore orators, And threateneth by multiplicite of sutes in y^r graces ecclesiastical court to wearie y^r orators & make them yeild to the said innovacon by him attempted, Whereas the greatest numb^r of yo^r orators be poor Coppihould^{rs} yearly answering y^e lord of whom they be houlden great Rente svices and oth^r duties, And also a greate yearlie Rente to her heighness out of a great p^t of their several possessions. And whereas by reason of his said pmocion the said Doctor standeth charged with the cure of y^r orators and ought to celebrit dyvyne Svce to them by himselfe or some other his sufficient substitute and instructe the pishon^{rs} of the said pisshe in the Catachisme every Sondaye and hollidaye & baptise children & bury ye deade and marrye & exercise other the rites ecclesiasticall, yet synce he was pson there the Catachisme was never taught accordingle, seldom or never the morning praier and lytany said on Fridaies & Wednesdaies and evening praier on Satterdaie as otherwise is not only used in all other churches of this pvince & in y^r graces dioces, And as by y^e laws & stute of this Realme her heighnes & y^r graces iniunctions is lymitted. And sometymes by his absens & lack of a Curatt the dead are buried by a ley man contrarye to the usage of the Church in respect whereof y^r orators humblie beseech y^r grace that he maie be moved from y^r grace to content himself without innovating the mann^r of thything that in that pisshe alwaies used or else if he will attempt sute for such tythes of therbage that he maie trie his right in

¹ Agist—to pasture the cattle of others at a certain sum for a specified time.

one or two sutes at thuttermost. And also that he maie be ordered by y^r grace to supplie his dutie in doing of dyvine service and executing the Rytes ecclesiasticall accordingle. And y^r orators shall dailie praie unto God that you may grow in health."

This artless yet eloquent effusion reveals a state of affairs in Methley not altogether compatible with the "smiling expanse of rustic contentment" which a recent writer assumes the village to have been in days of yore. Either the Rector had not yet realized the full extent of his responsibilities as parish priest and guardian of souls, or, what seems but too likely, he was using his position as a stalking-horse to serve his own ends, leaving his hapless flock to work out their own salvation. Too great stress is perhaps not to be laid on their request for more frequent instruction in the Catechism; but there is no mistaking the earnestness that underlies those passages dealing with the question of tithes.

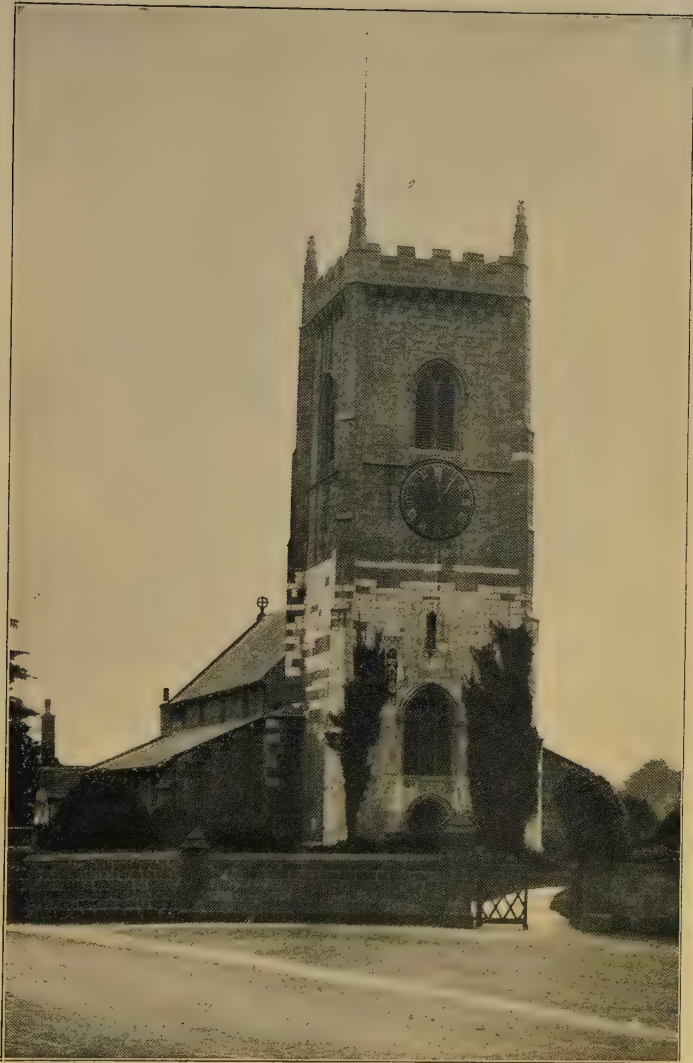
To fill his cup of sorrow to the brim, the unhappy Rector was to suffer yet another bereavement, and on November 26, 1593, the body of Susan Bright, "doughter of docter Bright," was laid to rest at Methley. We may take it that in this instance, at all events, the interment was not deputed to a "ley man"; he would, indeed, be a contemptible clergyman who should perform by proxy the last solemn rites over the grave of his own offspring!

The upshot of this succession of calamities—the loss of a parent and child, coupled with the grave charges brought against him by his "trowblesom prishioners"—was that Bright went through the form of resignation of

his living. In the list of presentations of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Public Record Office is this entry, "Methley, Christopher Lindall, 21 May (Timothy Bright, resigned), 36 Eliz."; but for some reason the resignation was inoperative, and Lindall was not instituted. On the other hand, Bright was actually given another and yet more lucrative benefice. On December 24, 1594, on the death of William Power, B.D., he was presented to the Rectory of the neighbouring parish of Barwick-in-Elmet, about a dozen miles distant from Methley, and seven from Leeds; and he was instituted on December 30.

Like Methley, Barwick was (and still is) in the patronage of the Duchy of Lancaster. It was charged in the King's Book at £33 12s. 6d. It is worth noting that this living was the most valuable of all those in the gift of the Duchy, Stanford Rivers ranking third in this respect, and Methley fifth. The church of Barwick, dedicated to All Saints, is an old building in the Early Norman and Decorated styles, consisting of chancel, nave, aisles, and an embattled western tower, which contains a clock and three bells. The largest (tenor) bell bears the date 1604, and the following inscription in very beautiful characters: "*In jucunditate soni sonabo tibi Dñe et in dulcedine vocis cantabo tuo Nñe.*" This bell must have been placed in the tower while Bright was Rector. Opposite the church, and in the centre of the village, a lofty maypole, gaily painted and adorned with garlands, may still be seen—one of the few that have been preserved to keep us in memory of the old rural May-day fêtes.

Unfortunately there are no registers at Barwick earlier



BARWICK-IN-ELMET CHURCH.

than 1653, and although some fragmentary transcripts at York go back to 1600, no record of Bright or his family is found in them. In the list of incumbents given by Thoresby, Queen Elizabeth is mentioned as the patron of the living, as well as that of Methley; but the advowson was nominally in the hands of the Chancellor of the Duchy. Methley and Barwick are now of the annual value of £650 and £1,000 respectively.

A letter addressed to Thoresby on September 18, 1708, by "Parson Plaxton," as the topographer familiarly dubbed the then Rector of Barwick, adds a little to our knowledge of Bright's doings at this period: "As to Dr. Tim. Bright, I can say little of him. He was resident at Barwick, and kept the Rectory in his hands, I presume, for they have an old tradition that he knew not his own oxen, but desired his steward to buy such as those were in the field, not understanding 'em to be his own. He had grandchildren born at Barwick, and his son Peter was buryd here Nov. 25, 1595."¹

The Rector's weakness for naming his sons after New Testament worthies was one shared by many of his contemporaries, and it is curious to note that in the last century a like partiality for Old Testament nomenclature was shown by Samuel Pitman, of whose seven sons as many as five (including the future Sir Isaac) were provided with baptismal names drawn from this source.

To Barwick Bright appears to have moved soon after his appointment, and for three years a truce was called in the unseemly squabble between him and his old

¹ Rev. F. S. Colman's *History of the Parish of Barwick-in-Elmet* (1908), p. 66.

parishioners, but at the end of that time the complaints of the latter were renewed. There had been a change of Archbishops in the interval, Matthew Hutton (who had been at Trinity College with Bright) having been translated from Durham on the death of Archbishop Piers. The Lord of the Manor was the first to approach the new diocesan, which he did in this wise :

“ My humble dutye to yo^r grace remembered, May it please yo^r L^p to be advertised that at my Cominge to the Churche att Methley on Whitsonday expecting devyne Svce I found the Churche supplied neither with the Parson or anie Curatt but onely the parishe Clarke neither qualified nor tollerated to say devyne service. The w^{ch} (in myne opinion) is not convenient, the Benefice being worth 100^l a yeare att the least and the tithes as well or better answered than to anie other Incumbent w^{thin} the same deanry. For redress whereof as also for repaire of the mansion house wch is in very greate Ruyn¹ if it would please yo^r Lo^p and others of the Ecclesiastical Commission. . . .”

Hot in the wake of this came a note from the churchwardens :

“ The Certificat of Tho: Towtill and Richard Parkyn Churchwardens of Methley in anno dñi 1595, and of John Hover and Leonard Corbrigg Churchwardens there 1596, and of Tho: Quare and Tho: Croft Churchwardens there this psent yeare of oure Lorde 1597, made at Methley to the moste Reverend Father the Lo: Archb: of Yorke his grace, xvii August, 1597.

¹ A century later the then Rector, Gilbert Atkinson, built the “ Old Rectory,” still to be seen in Mickletown, an achievement of sufficient importance to be recorded on his tablet in the chancel. There is no local tradition as to an earlier “ mansion house,” and Rector Atkinson may have built on the site of Bright’s “ very greate ruyn.” (Ven. H. A. Hall.)

“ Mr Doctor Brighte being pson of Methley of the clear yearly valew of 100^{li} at the leaste besides the finding of the Cure, and other duties, due to her Mat^{ie}, his grace or anie others oute of the same psonage, was aboute Chrissenmas Anno dñi 1594 made pson of Barwicke in Elvett where en since he hathe Remayned, and been altogether non Resident at Methley during all the saide tyme w^{ch} will be three yeares at Chrissenmas next & onely hathe contributed fower pounds to the poore of y^e said pishe and being demanded by the Churchwardens for this yeare for further contribucon he answereth y^t he hath fullie satisfied as much for the aforesaide tyme as by her Ma^{ts} Iniunctions. The Consideracon whereof the saide Churchwardens humbly Referr to his graces goode Consideracon in respect he is by her Ma^{ts} Iniunctions to contribute to the poore of the pishe where he is so non Resident the forteth pte of his benefice.”

This double indictment by the Lord of the Manor and the churchwardens leaves little room for doubt as to Bright's guilt: that he cared more for the fleece than the flock is but too evident, and his conduct seems to admit of no extenuation. Before the churchwardens penned their protest the Archbishop had summoned the offender before an Ecclesiastical Commission to answer the charges brought against him. Shortly afterwards he wrote:

*“ To the right worshipfull my verre loving frend
Mr. Sergeant¹ Savile at Methley.*

“ After my harty comendacons &c. I have received yo^r Lrs concerning Mr. Doctor Bright, who being of late called before me & other Commissioners here was

¹ Savile had been made Serjeant-at-Law in 1594.

straitly inioyned to contribute the 40th part of his benefice towards the releefe of the poore & also to repaire the houses belonging to his parsonage, & thereof to make true certificate unto us by a day appointed. At the last Comission daie here the 2 of this moneth Certificate was exhibited that he hathe alreadie bestowed the 40th part of his lyving there for the use of the poore, and we expect that he shall repare the parsonage houses according as we inioyned him & as he pmissid, otherwise if he faile in pformance we shall further pceed against him. And thus I bid you verie hartey farewell. From York the xiith of August 1597^o.

“Yo in Christe verie assuredly,

“MATTs. EBOR.”

A month later the Archbishop gave his licence to Savile to attend Divine service in the latter's recently-erected private chapel: “*p te sepealiter struct sive construend infra scitm domus Mansionalis tue de Methley pdca infra quem scitum nup talis capella fuit erecta.*” The ostensible reasons urged by Savile for this unusual proceeding were the fact that his house¹ was nearly a mile distant from the parish church, and the tempestuous weather prevailing in the district. There is no mention of the strained relations between the Squire and the Rector—perhaps the weightiest factor of all. At this point the correspondence comes to an end, and we are left to wonder whether or no Bright mended his ways, and established more amicable relations with his Methley

¹ Methley Hall, where Savile lived, is now the seat of the Earl of Mexborough, the present Lord of the Manor, and a direct descendant of Sir John. The latter began to build the earliest portions in 1588, and his initials may still be seen at the southern end, with the date 1593. The Hall stands in a large and well-wooded park, a little west of the church and town of Methley.

parishioners. A tragic occurrence which must have been the talk of the villagers for at least the proverbial nine days is set down at some length in the parish register, immediately after the entry of the burial of Marjory, wife of William Hagger, in November, 1599 :

“ Robt Nalsonn was buried the same day, the said Roberte did breake his faste the same day and was in good healthe, and came to y^e churche to y^e buryinge of the foresaid Marioye, and did helpe to ringe a peale at y^e bells, and within one halfe howre after died in the p^rsence of all the people in the churche, and was buried within fowre howres afterwarde.”

The Rector may or may not have been present at this event, but he must have been well acquainted with the chief actors in the little drama.

Some fifteen miles to the north of Barwick was a bleak and barren spot known as Haregate Head, standing in the midst of what, even in the time of Smollett, was “ a wild common, without tree or shrub, or the least sign of cultivation,” but around which has sprung up within little more than a century the now fashionable inland health resort of Harrogate, famous for its mineral springs, whose remarkable medicinal properties have been the means of restoring thousands of sufferers from anæmia, dyspepsia, and kindred ailments, to buoyant health. Many an overworked stenographer must have repaired thither to recuperate his tired faculties by “ taking the cure,” but probably not one has suspected that some share of the credit for popularizing the health-giving waters belongs to “ the father of modern shorthand ” himself. The evidence in support of this claim

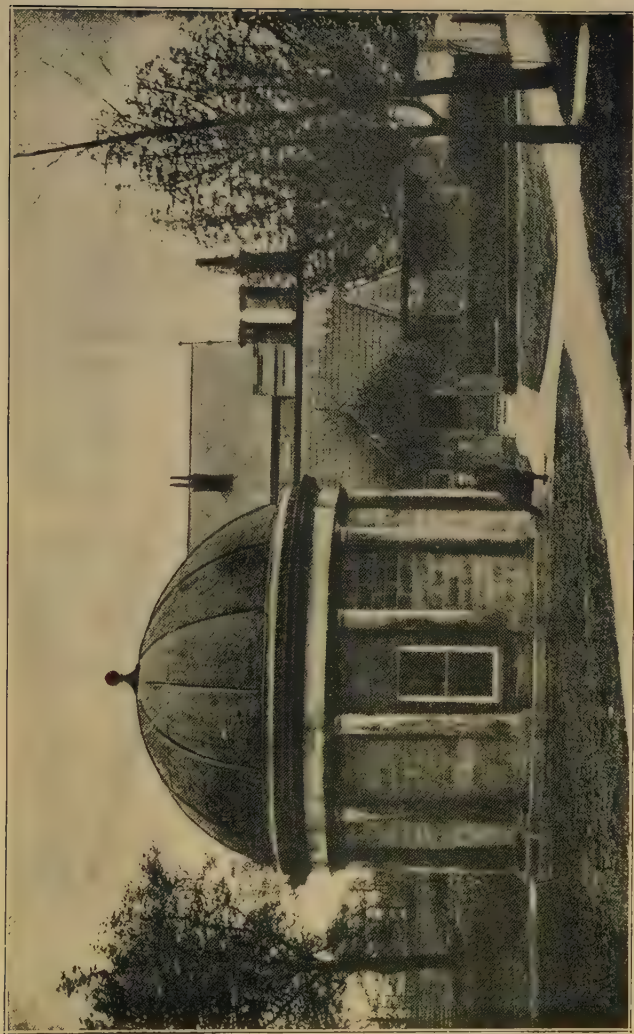
is found in a work bearing the title : *Spadacrene Anglica. Or, the English Spaw-Fountaine. Being a briefe treatise of the acide, or tart Fountaine in the Forest of Knaresborow, in the West-Riding of Yorkshire. As also a Relation of other medicinall Waters in the said Forest. By Edmund Deane, Dr in Physicke, Oxon. dwelling in the City of Yorke . . . 1626.* The author of this little treatise gives an account of all the springs known in his time, when the town of Harrogate did not exist, and a dense forest—the Forest of Knaresborough—extended for miles around. After briefly describing four minor wells, he proceeds :

“ The fift, and last (for which I haue principally vndertaken to write this short Discourse) is an acide, or tart fountaine in the said Forest, commonly named by the vulgar sort, *Tuewhit*¹ well, and the *English Spaw*, by those of the better rank, in imitation of those two most famous acide fountaines at the *Spaw*² in *Germany*—to wit, *Sauuenir*, and *Pouhon*.”

This spring was at Haregate Head, a mile and a half from Knaresborough, almost at the top of a continuous ascent from that town. The first to discover and appreciate its medicinal qualities, “ so far forth as I can learn,” says Deane, “ was one Mr William Slingsby, a Gentleman of many good parts, of an ancient, and worthy Family neere thereby,” who, having travelled in his youth, was thoroughly acquainted with the waters at Spa. Happening to taste the water at Harrogate, and

¹ So called from the number of tewits, or lapwings, which formerly frequented that part of the forest.

² Spa, twenty miles south-east of Liège, Belgium, “ the mother of inland watering-places,” from which the generic name is derived.



THE TEWIT WELL, HARROGATE.

finding it to agree in all respects with those of Spa, he subjected it to tests which appear to have satisfied him of its real value, whereupon, "greatly reioycing at so good and fortunate an accident," he caused the spring to be walled around and paved at the bottom, "as well to keepe out filth, as Cattle for comming and approaching to it." After which, as was only fitting, the worthy Slingsby drank of the bubbling water every year for the rest of his life, declaring it to excel all the springs of the Continent without exception.

"Moreouer," continues the relater of this momentous discovery, "Doctor *Timothy Bright* of happy memory a learned Physitian, (while hee liued, my very kind friend, and familiar acquaintance) first gaue the name of the *English Spaw* vnto this Fountaine about thirty yeares since, or more. For he also formerly had spent some time at the *Spaw* in *Germany*; so that he was very able to compare those with this of ours. Nay, hee had furthermore so good an opinion, and so high a conceit of this, that hee did not onely direct, and aduise others to it, but himselfe also (for most part) would vse it in the Sommer season."¹

Later writers on the Tewit Well—the first medicinal spring found in England—have gone so far as to state that "Dr. Bright wrote the first treatise on its virtues and uses,"² but Deane's words will hardly bear such an interpretation. It appears from the latter's dedication, however, that Bright had contemplated such a work.

¹ *Spadacrene Anglica*, p. 9.

² Thomas Allen's *New and Complete History of the County of York*, vol. iii. (1831), p. 404. This fallacy has found its way into the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (art. Harrogate).

"It were to be wished," he says, "that those two famous Physitians, Dr Hunton and Dr Bright had beene yet liuing, to haue giuen testimony of the great good hopes and expectation they conceiued of it. The former of which did oftentimes request me to publish it to the world: and the other was resolued (in case hee had longer liued) to haue done it himselfe. So carefull were they both to promote their countries good, and studious to procure the health of their Countrimen."

So that if Timothy Bright was not in fact the first writer on the mineral waters of Harrogate, he was so in intention; and it is a pity he did not live to publish the proposed treatise, if only because it might well have thrown some further light on his early travels. One enterprising local chronicler, however, making light of so trifling an obstacle, regales his readers in this fashion:

"Dr. Bright was first to rush into description, and he acquits himself with true Elizabethan flavour. He observes regarding the water that 'it occasions the retention of nothing that should be evacuated, and by relaxation evacuates nothing that should be retained. It dries nothing but what's too moist and flaccid, and heats nothing but what's too cold, and *e contra*; that though no doubt there are some accidents and objections to the contrary, it makes the lean fat, the fat lean, cures the cholick and melancholy, and the vapours; and that it cures all aches speedily and cheereth the heart.' Such a recommendation must have had a powerful effect upon a people who will even buy patent medicines."¹

Without demurring to the suggestion that there is an Elizabethan smack about the passage quoted, it may

¹ W. Wheater's *Guide to and History of Harrogate* (1890), pp. 58, 59.

be pointed out that it occurs, in a slightly extended form and with a few variations, in a work that was not published before 1652—*The York-shire Spaw*, “composed by John French, Dr of Physick.” Dr. French prints the words in question as his own, in his chapter “Of the vertues of the Spaw-well,”¹ and as there is in the book no indication that he had even heard of the existence of Timothy Bright, it is not easy to perceive on what grounds they have been ascribed to the latter.

Until the middle of the seventeenth century there was no accommodation nearer than Knaresborough for the few to whom the nature of the invaluable springs was then known. Some of ample means, it is said, brought tents with them, and encamped in the open. In those days it was no easy thing to find Haregate Head or “the Yorkshire Spa,” and, like pilgrims who had found the shrine they were in search of, these adventurers pitched their tents in the wilderness, and there abode for many days. At the present time there are as many as eighty springs known in the district, of varying strength and quality, with a magnificent suite of baths fully equipped for the treatment of a wide range of disorders, and an unequalled array of palatial hotels.

The Rector’s practice of taking the waters himself in the summer goes far to account for his grievous dereliction of parochial duties, and to corroborate Savile’s assertion that he was wont to leave his charge destitute upon “hollidaies.” In the closing months of 1605 the plague wrought sad havoc in Methley and the country

¹ Pp. 73-75.

round about, but whether the preacher-physician went over from Barwick to succour his people in their hour of need history does not reveal.

The old Rectory, built in the fifteenth century, is the most interesting link with Timothy Bright which remains at Barwick to this day. A little low building (on the right of the accompanying photograph), it adjoins the present Rectory—built by Jordan Tancred, Rector 1695-1703—of which it forms the east wing. The simple character of the older building will be realized when it is mentioned that there were only two rooms on the ground-floor and two above. The windows on the south side have been modernized, but the old rough cast still remains on the wall ; and on the north side, although the windows have been built up, the mullions are still to be seen. The entrance seems to have been at the west end, the door opening into what was called the “ Old Hall,” the parson’s general living-room. This little building has a peculiar interest as being the only one so far identified in which it can be said with certainty that Timothy Bright spent some years of his life.



THE RECTORY, BARWICK-IN-ELMET.

(*The old Rectory, which Bright inhabited, is seen on the right of the photograph.*)

CHAPTER IX

THE LAST PHASE

FOR a decade or more following the unfortunate dispute with his parishioners the records are practically silent concerning Timothy Bright's doings, and interest centres in his brother William, to whose career a special importance attaches, since it is linked at several points with that of the author of *Characterie*. His student life at Emmanuel College has already been touched upon, and his signature appended to a college document of October 2, 1595, proves that he was still in Cambridge at that date. Little more than two years afterwards, however, he had left the University to take up an important position in Shrewsbury. From a letter written by the bailiffs of that town to "Mr. Chatterton"—i.e., Laurence Chaderton, the Master of Emmanuel—in December, 1597, it seems that the latter had been consulted by Dr. Edward Bulkeley, formerly public preacher of Shrewsbury, with a view to finding a suitable man for that office, which had become vacant by the resignation of Thomas Laughton, B.D. Chaderton recommended William Bright, but the bailiffs objected that he was unknown to them, adding that the office of

public preacher carried with it the cure of St. Mary's Church, the usual "exercises" being a sermon on the Sabbath, catechizing on Sunday afternoons, and a lecture on Thursdays.¹

The office of public preacher of Shrewsbury appears to have been created about 1579, when the lack of able and zealous preachers "induced the principal inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood to agree in inviting an eminent divine to come and reside among them, and made them subscribe to raise an annual sum for his maintenance," provided that he should remain in the town all his life, and there "publickly preach and teach the holy scriptures." His duty was to preach on all public occasions. Ever since the institution the post has been held, with one exception, by the incumbents of St. Mary's, the appointment of whom was vested in the headmaster of the famous grammar school and the bailiffs of the town. They were directed by the ordinances to select "a fit man . . . brought up in the school, and a graduate, being a burgess son, or, in default, a native of Chirbury, or, in default, any of like sufficiency."

Neither of the local qualifications appears to have been possessed by Bright, yet the objections of the bailiffs were overcome, and the claims of Andrew Daker, Vicar of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, who made formal application for the appointment, and was in every way eligible, were passed over in his favour. On January 24, 1597-98, William Bright, B.D., of Emmanuel

¹ Hotchkis MSS., vol. iii., p. 113 (Shrewsbury Free Library).

College, Cambridge, was made "curate"¹ of St. Mary's in succession to Thomas Laughton.²

The church of St. Mary was, and is, the most interesting and important in the town of Shrewsbury—a position largely due to the fact that it was a royal free chapel, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. It was collegiate, consisting of a Dean and ten prebends; the latter were abolished at the Reformation, but the church retained all its privileges as a royal peculiar until quite recent years. Although all ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the limits of St. Mary's parish rested, before the Dissolution, with the Dean, it was not exercised by himself in person, but by his Official, who thus possessed many of the powers of a prelate, appointing his own surrogate, issuing marriage licenses, granting probate of all wills of those dying in the parish, and in other ways acting quite independently of the diocesan Bishop. Most of the incumbents of St. Mary's were also Officials, and the name of William Bright occurs in that capacity on June 1, 1606.³ The parish was a large one, comprising about a quarter of the town, and including nearly the whole suburb of Castle Forgate as well as several outlying

¹ The living being a perpetual curacy, "curate" is here to be understood in the sense in which "vicar" is now used. In the bailiffs' accounts among the records of the Corporation of Shrewsbury, the minister of St. Mary's is styled "preacher of the word," in the parish book "public preacher" and "Her Majesty's stipendiary curate," and afterwards "Vicar of St. Mary's." The then headmaster was John Meighen, and the bailiffs for the year were John Webb and Nicholas Gibbons.

² *A History of Shrewsbury* [By H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway] (1825), vol. ii., p. 377.

³ *Some Account of the Ancient and Present State of Shrewsbury* [By H. Owen] (1808), p. 223.

townships. The minister's salary was £20 yearly, and as public preacher he received an additional honorarium of more than double that amount—£46 13s. 4d.—the total being equal to an income of about £500 at the present day. Yet that this was not considered a sufficient sum is clear from a letter which Bright's predecessor Laughton despatched to the bailiffs in 1597. He stated that, having been asked to find a preacher for the town, he had endeavoured to do so, but those whom he thought qualified declined on account of the stipend "being too slender for these hard times."¹ He recommended Thomas Higgons, who had been an Official of St. Mary's for a short period; but, as we have seen, the appointment was secured by Bright, whose salary is fixed by the following item among the bailiffs' accounts for the year 1598-99:

"Payd to Mr Bright, our publique precher, for his stipend for this yere, xlvj^{li} xiijs^s iiij^d." ²

In the year of Bright's appointment to St. Mary's his unsuccessful rival, Andrew Daker, was succeeded as Vicar of St. Alkmund's by Humphrey Leech, a man whose preaching gave great offence to many on account of its embracing "many points of popery." It was, perhaps, in connection with some religious controversy that Bright commenced suit against Leech in the Bailiffs' Court, cognizance of which was claimed by Thomas Lord Buckhurst, Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Writing to the bailiffs under seal of his office on July 1, 1603, he describes the defendant as

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 15th Report, Appendix, part x. (1899), p. 61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

"the honest and literate person, Humphrey Leache, master of arts and commoner or student of Jesus College."¹ The cause of the dispute is not stated. Leech was at the time Chaplain or petty Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, as well as Vicar of St. Alkmund's, but was ultimately expelled for preaching Catholic doctrines, and soon after was received into the Church of Rome.

About this time a duty devolved upon the minister of St. Mary's which added still further to his income, for in 1603 it was directed by a Corporation order that £6 13s. 4d. should be paid out of the funds of Shrewsbury School to a minister who should read prayers and catechize the scholars in the "scholars' chapel" in St. Mary's Church; and the "curate" seems to have exercised this function until 1617, when the chapel attached to the school buildings was consecrated.² As early as 1582, however, the scholars' chapel, which was on the south side of the church, had been "repaired and beautified at the School charges, to the intent that upon all Sabbath-dayes, Hollidays, and half Hollidays, the Masters and Scholars would resort there to hear divine service;"³ just as the Bluecoat Boys attended Christ Church. For some reason this custom appears to have fallen into abeyance about 1605 or 1606, but in a Chancery decree of Lord Ellesmere on June 28, 1613, the masters were ordered to resume the practice.⁴ On November 29, 1607, we find Bright, in his capacity of public preacher, delivering the funeral sermon on the

¹ Owen and Blakeway's *History*, vol. ii., p. 278, *note*.

² G. W. Fisher's *Annals of Shrewsbury School* (1899), p. 70.

³ Hotchkis MS., p. 97.

⁴ Fisher's *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, p. 84.

death of John Baker, second master of the Free School ; and a few years after—on April 19, 1612—it was

“ agreed that Mr. William Bright, publique preacher, shall have, duringe his time of beinge publique preacher, for his private use, or for the plasinge and habitation of his assistant under him, the chamber over the south porch ; and it shalbe lawfull for him to make a doore in the churchard to goe up into the said room, and to have no other way through the church into the said chamber.”¹

The photograph of St. Mary's from the south side clearly shows the position of the chamber in question, and there we may leave the public preacher for a time while we return to the author of *Characterie*.

It has been assumed by every writer on the life of Timothy Bright that his last days were spent in Yorkshire—a supposition apparently borne out by the undoubted fact that he held the two livings of Methley and Barwick down to the time of his death. But there are unmistakable indications that at some period which cannot be fixed with certainty he joined his brother in the Salopian capital. Ralph Thoresby states, in his account of Barwick-in-Elmet, that, among other “ eminent persons ” who were curates there, the name of William Bright, B.D., is found in 1613. Clearly, the brother of Timothy Bright is here referred to ; incredible though it may appear that, in the midst of his multifarious duties as public preacher, Official, and catechist of the grammar scholars, the incumbent of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, could have acted as assistant to his brother at a distance of more than a hundred miles, such a thing

¹ Owen and Blakeway's *History*, vol. ii., p. 368.

would not be altogether unparalleled, even in those days of difficult and dangerous travel. Only a few years later another man officiated as curate at Barwick for some years, during three or four of which he was Rector of a parish sixty miles or more away. It may be, therefore, that the Salopian parson, visiting his brother, and finding him hopelessly at loggerheads with his parishioners, induced the hapless Rector to accompany him back to Shrewsbury, there to end his days in peace.

Whatever the explanation, it is beyond question that in the autumn of 1615 both Timothy and William Bright were living in the ancient border town. On August 9 of that year Timothy Bright, feeling his end approaching, made his will, and as this document contains information of the greatest interest concerning his habits and pursuits, it is here printed *in extenso*.

“ In the name of the most holie and blessed Trinity, God the ffather, God the sonne, and God the holy ghost, one God eternall and omnipotent, I, Timothy Bright of Barwick in Elmet in the County of Yorke, Clerke, and Doctor of Phisick, being sick in bodie, but of good and perfect remembrance, do, this present nyneth day of August, in the yeare of our lord and saviour Christ, one thousand six hundred and ffiftenth, make and declare this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge, that is to say, ffirst wth a most thankfull acknowledgment of Godes great benefittes, both spirituall and temporall, bestowed on me of his free mercye wthout any desert of myne, I comend my soule vnto God to remayne in euerlastinge blisse, wth the rest of the soules of Godes Saintes, as is my constant fayth it shall, by the merittes of my saviour Christ, and my body I comitt vnto ye earth, to be buried when and where it

shall please God, ther to remayne vntill the generall ioyfull resurrection. And for the disposicon of my goodes and chattells, my will is, and I do hereby will and bequeath vnto my much beloved brother, William Bright, Bacho^r of Divinitie, and publike preacher of Godes word in the towne of Salop, in the County of Salop, all thoos my bookes, called or knowne by the name or names of the Hebrue byble, the Syriac testament, Josephus Zarlinus¹ in Italian, in two volumes, and Plato in Greeke and latine, translated by Marcilius ficinus,² and thoos my Instrumentes of musick called the Theorbo, wth its case, and the Irishe harpe, w^{ch} I most vsuallie played vpon. And I giue and bequeath to Titus Bright, my sonne, Doctor of Phisick, the somme of xx^{tie} poundes in money, and all my bookes of Phisick and Philosophie, and the rest of my Instrumentes of musick, not bequeathed to my said brother, for his full childes parte and porcon of all my goodes, chattells and estaite. Furthermore after my debtes and legacies in this my will specified

¹ Gioseffo Zarlino, master of the Chapel of St. Mark's, Venice, and one of the most celebrated writers on the theory of music, was born at Chioggia in 1519, and died February 14, 1590. His didactic works were collected and printed at Venice in 1589, in four folio volumes, under the general title, *De Tutte l'Opere*. His best-known work on music, the one probably alluded to above, appeared in folio at Venice in 1558, 1562, and 1573, and was entitled, *Institutioni harmoniche, divise in quattro parti, nelle quali, oltre le materie appartenenti alla musica, si trovano dichiarati molti luoghi de poeti, historici e filosofi*.

² Marcilio Ficino, "the reviver of Platonic philosophy in the West," was born at Figline in 1433. When a youth of eighteen, he entered the Medicean household, and began to learn Greek, in order to qualify himself for translating Plato into Latin. He was forty-four when he finished his translation of Plato's works and five years more elapsed before the first edition was printed in 1482, at Filippo Valori's expense. He also translated Plotinus and Dionysius Areopagite *On the Hierarchies* (Symonds' *Renaissance in Italy: Revival of Learning*, 1882, p. 324). As already mentioned, Ficino's *De Studiosorum Sanitate*, first published at Basle in 1569, was included in the editions of Bright's *Hygieina* and *Therapeutica* issued at Frankfort in 1598 and Mayence in 1647.

and my funerall charges and expenses satisfied, paid and discharged, I give and bequeath vnto my deare and entirelie beloved wife, Margaret Bright, all the rest and residue of my goodes, chattells, credittes and estate, w^{ch} I shall haue to me in any wise belonging, due or owing at the tyme of my death, reposeing my whole trust in her for to give and bestow to my daughter, Elizabeth Bright, such a portion for her maintenance and preferment in marriage, as my said wife shall thinke meet, and not otherwise. And my will further is, and I do earnestlie inioyne my said wife, that she suffer not myne eldest sonne, Timothy Bright, to haue any parte of my said goodes, chattells or estate, in regarde I haue alreadie advanced him aboue my estate in hope of his kindness, to be shewed to my said wife and other children, according to his promyse in that behalfe made, w^{ch} I chardge him to performe, as he will avoyde the wrothe of God. And nevertheless I giue and bequeath to my sonne, Timothy, a peece of gold of vs. vjd., for and in full payment and discharge of his parte and portion of all my goodes, chattells and estate. And I do make and ordeyne my said wife, Margaret, alone to [be] my sole and onely executrix of this my last will and testament, and I do appoint my very wor^{full} and approved ffrend, S^r Henry Goodrick,¹ of Ribston, in the

¹ Sir Henry Goodricke (or Goodrick), eldest son of Richard Goodricke, was born in 1580. On May 11, 1603, he was knighted at the Charterhouse, London, by James I., during the King's progress from the north. He was a Deputy Lieutenant, Vice-President of the Northern Council, a Justice of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Treasurer for the Land Soldiers in 1622. On May 25, 1602, he married Jane, the second daughter of John Savile (an event which may have won him Bright's acquaintance), and had a numerous issue. Sir Henry Goodricke died July 22, 1641. His will, dated March 21, 1639, was proved at York, December 17, 1641, by his widow Jane, and an *inquisition post mortem* was taken at Knaresborough, October 20, 1641 (see *History of the Goodricke Family*, ed. C. A. Goodricke, 1885, pp. 15-17).

Countie of Yorke, knight, to be overseer of this same my last will and testament, to whome I give my other theorbo, as a token of my love. In witnes wherof I haue herevnto put my hand and seale, the day and yeare aboue written. Sealed, subscribed, written and published in the presence and sight of William Bright, Thomas Harries, William Rowely, Richard Hoddins, George Wright, Paul ffarles and Elizabeth Langley.”¹

The will of Timothy Bright is a remarkable one in many respects. It amply confirms the impression produced by an examination of his works, that Bright was a man of culture and erudition. The number of books mentioned is much greater than was usual in wills of the period, even those of men in high stations. In addition to books on medicine and philosophy, his library boasted a Hebrew Bible and a Syriac Testament, as well as works in Greek, Latin, and Italian. The possession of them argues more than a nodding acquaintance with half a dozen languages, and that at a time when a knowledge of the Hebrew and Syriac tongues, in particular, was a rare acquirement. A not unsuspected characteristic here laid bare is his passion for music. Clearly the doctor was an accomplished instrumentalist, a fact which at once explains the familiarity with matters musical manifested in certain of his writings. Here is a passage from his *Melancholy* which shows that he had long been alive to the potency of a sprightly air in dispelling “ heauinesse of heart ” :

“ Not onely cheerefull musicke in a generalitie, but such of that kind as most reioyceth is to be sounded in

¹ York Consistory Court, vol. xxxi., fol. 180 ; printed in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xvii. (1903), pp. 50-54.

the melancholicke eare : of which kinde for the most part is such as carieth an odde measure, and easie to be discerned, except the melancholike haue skill in musicke, and require a deeper harmonie. That, contrarilie, which is solemne, and still : as dumpes, and fancies, and sette musicke, are hurtfull in this case, and serue rather for a disordered rage and intemperate mirth, to reclaime within mediocritie, then to allure the spirites, to stirre the blood, and to attenuate the humours, which is (if the harmony be wisely applyed) effectuellie wrought by musicke."

His favourite instrument, it seems, was the Irish harp, of which a fair representation is to be found in the British royal arms ; but he had also a couple of theorbos,¹ and other instruments not specified by name. That he studied the art in theory, as well as in practice, may be inferred from the presence on his shelves of Zarlino's standard work on harmony.

A noticeable point about the will is the omission from it of any mention of shorthand—indeed, from the time of his leaving London the oracles are provokingly silent as to Bright's studies in the art of "characterie." One interesting relic, however, which has eluded the destroying hand of Time, remains to prove that he had not

¹ The theorbo was an instrument of the lute class, and appears to have come into use towards the end of the sixteenth century. Three hundred years ago it was almost as popular as is the piano-forte at the present day ; it was in demand for accompaniments of all kinds, and was an important constituent in the orchestra of the period. It had two necks, one above the other, the lower bearing the melody strings, which were stretched over a fretted finger-board, and the upper bearing the accompaniment strings or diapasons, which were deeper in pitch, and were played without being stopped (*cf.* C. Engel's *Musical Instruments*, South Kensington Museum Art Handbooks (1908), pp. 104, 105 ; A. J. Hipkins' *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare, and Unique* (1888).

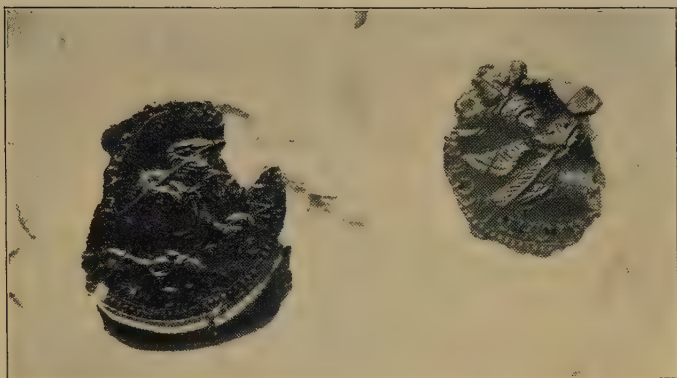
altogether forsaken his old love. The letters written by him in the course of his disputes with his Methley parishioners were sealed, and on the seal is a non-heraldic device exhibiting a winged hand holding a quill, which has just traced three characterly symbols. So far as can be judged from the fragment which has been preserved, these symbols represent the words: "Man must heal."¹ Around the whole runs the legend: "*Bright.* [perhaps preceded by *Timotheus*] *Ingenio. Arte. Manu.*"

It can hardly be doubted that the doctor was in Shrewsbury when he made his will, for some, if not all, of the witnesses to it were Salopians. Two of them—Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Harries and William Rowley—were burgesses of Shrewsbury, and the former later on attested the will of William Bright also. Less than a month after the date of his will Timothy Bright died, at the age of sixty-four or sixty-five. He was laid to rest in the place where his "much-beloved brother" had ministered for so many years, far removed from the scenes of his own toils and triumphs; and it is from the register of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, that the following is extracted:

"Sep: 6: Tymothy Bright Doctor in phisike, was buried the 6th day off september 1615."

To the "curate" of St. Mary's must have fallen the painful task of performing the last rites over his brother's corpse, and in his sermon on the following Sabbath he

¹ The signs have been interpreted, "Fear we much," but, as Archdeacon Hall observes, the relevancy of this is not very obvious. It is also suggested that the words may conceal an anagram.



FRAGMENTS OF BRIGHT'S STENOGRAPHIC SEAL AND—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. in relation to the proposed purchase of the land for the purpose of building a new school house for the use of the colored people of this city. I am very glad to hear that you are so interested in the welfare of the colored people, and I am sure that your efforts will be successful. I have already written to the Board of Education and to the City Council, and I am sure that they will be able to do all that is necessary to secure the land for the school house. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
 Yours truly,
 Charles Bright

A PART OF THE LETTER TO WHICH IT IS ATTACHED.

(From the originals at Methley Hall.)

doubtless paid eloquent tribute to the memory of the departed. No shorthand note of that discourse has come down to us, or certain gaps in this little history might have been bridged by its aid; and in vain may the curious visitor scan the timeworn inscriptions on rugged gravestones within and without the ancient church in an effort to trace the spot where now lies all that is mortal of "the father of English shorthand." Beneath one of those massive slabs of stone he rests; but if a name and a date were once graven upon its face, the passing of three hundred years, even in that sequestered sanctuary, has sufficed to obliterate them as though they never had been.

On October 18, 1615, Thomas Horne, B.D., was instituted to the living of Methley, "*per mortem Timothei Bright clerici ultimi rectoris ibidem vacantem*;" but the Rectory of Barwick remained vacant until 1618. The will was proved at York on November 13, 1615. It appears from the will of his daughter-in-law, Edith Bright (see p. 176), that Bright had died in debt, notwithstanding that he had such valuable preferment. The Rector's income from his two benefices during the twenty years preceding his death, irrespective of tithes, amounted to nearly £500 at present value. It is true he had expensive tastes, which he indulged in the purchase of costly books and musical instruments, but it would seem from the terms of his will that his liabilities were inconsiderable; at any rate, he seems to have anticipated that after they were settled enough would remain to provide for the future of his widow and daughter.

not a little annoyance from the dissenting party in the town during his tenure of the office of public preacher. The author of the book in question, Peter Studley, was parson of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, and its publication was prompted by the murder of his mother and younger brother. Studley characterizes the murderer as "a zealous schismatick," and seeks to show that the crime was but the natural outcome of his religious tenets, an assumption which drew down upon him the indignation of the whole body of Puritans, so much so that as long afterwards as seven years a reply to the book was "printed by order of a Committee of the honourable house of Commons."¹ Lamenting that Shrewsbury was "greatly troubled with a sect of Men and Women" who would not yield obedience to "supreame Majestie," Studley continues :

"They had about fourteene yeares agoe a learned and Reverend Preacher," [in the margin is printed : "Mr. Bright"] "who by the practice of two and twenty yeares Ministry among them, with divers conferences and perswasions to loyalty and obedience, could never worke any thing upon their perverse and peevish dispositions. When he grew aged and decayed in his strength, these persons laid their counsels, purses, and powers together, and provided them of a Lecturer,² who concurred in opinion, practice, and faction with them. The man being come among them, settled in his

¹ *A True relation of the Murders . . . Wherein is examined and refuted a certaine Book by P. Studley, Entituled the Looking glasse, &c.*, by Richard More, Esq. (1641).

² Probably Julines Herring, who in 1618 was appointed Tuesday lecturer, and preacher at the Sunday mid-day service, at St. Alkmund's, having been compelled to resign a living in Derbyshire on account of his scruples as to ceremonies.

place, and supported with countenance, favour, feasts, and liberall contributions, by underhand collections in all the Parishes of our Towne ; entered upon his Ministry, and mightily laboured with his best abilities to encourage them to constancie in their supposed zealous, but in truth in their erroneous, schismaticall, and disloyall courses. These things being wisely observed, and the portion of his gifts and Talent noted by that Reverend Gentleman not long before his death : Hee being invited to the house of a Gentleman of our Towne, and entring conference of these things at the table, brake a wittie jest upon their *Lecturer*, and as it were Prophetically signified the truth of this event of his factious courses, saying, *The leane Kine will eate up the fat*. For indeed, in the issue it so fell out in our Towne ; A leane, factious, and schismaticall Ministry obscured the light of better parts in men of the same calling : and to strengthen a partie, and to countenance disorder, with *Theudas* boasting himself *to bee some bodie*, and with *Iudas of Galilee*, *hee drew away much people after him*. But as they perished in their *Tumultuous* uproares, so this practice little inferiour in action and working, in a few yeares dissolved of it selfe, and onely the ruines thereof remaines yet among us. The Reverend man lying on his death-bed ; The Magistrates of our Towne repaired to visite him in his sicknesse : To whom hee gave in strict charge, that, as they *Tendred* the glory of *God*, their owne loyaltie to their Liege and Sovereigne, whose Ministers they were by deputation of dignity and authoritie, peace and welfare of their Corporation : they would carefully resist the purpose of many, who laboured to obtrude upon the Towne to succeed in his place a *Non-conformed* Minister. And he told them further, what hee himselfe had noted in his wise observations : to wit, that where any of this sect of disloyall and factious Ministers entered, and were entertained by any people, there in very short time, they proved In-

cendiaries : and by meanes of their owne personall disobedience to the prudent and pious Lawes of our Church, that Corporation, Towne, Parish, or Village, became rent into faction, and cleaving unto parts by violation of unity and Christian peace.”¹

It does not seem that Bright resisted the intrusion into his pulpit, as a later incumbent did in 1735. The “factionous sect” did not succeed in their object, however, for “this Reverend man being laid in his sepulchre in peace and honour, one Mr. Browne,² a learned and godly Minister, of exemplary vertue and pious conversation, was elected to succeed him” on April 22, 1619.

William Bright's will, dated August 10, 1618, was proved at London on January 11, 1618-19. He makes his niece Elizabeth, “daughter of my deceased brother Timothe Bright,” his sole executrix, bequeathing to her all his debts and legacies, and such sums as were due to him from the Corporation of Shrewsbury. He mentions another brother, Richard Bright of London, to whom he leaves 20s. “if he survive me, for a ring to weare as a token of my esteeme”; £30 were to be given to Emmanuel College, “whereof I was sometime Fellow,” and in addition certain sums were to be distributed among the poor of the parishes of St. Mary, St. Alkmund, St. Julian, and St. Chad, in Shrewsbury. The will was attested on August 12 by Thomas Harries, Nicholas Vossey, George Price, Richard Howells, and Richard Clarke. The bequest to his *alma mater* is thus

¹ *The looking-glasse of Schisme* . . . By Peter Studley, Master of Arts, and Minister of God's Word, in Shrewsbury (1634), pp. 169-174.

² Samuel Browne, M.A., author of *The Sum of Christian Religion*, etc. (see *Dictionary of National Biography*).

noticed in the *Book of Benefactors to Emmanuel College*, copied by Cole from the original MS. in the possession of the College: "*Guilelmus Bright, hujus Collegii in Sociorū Albo Meritissime conscriptus, Salopiensis Ecclesiæ Rector, quo majis Nutricem suam grati Animi Testimonio complecteretur, Bibliothecam hanc Triginta Libris honestavit.*"¹ In this book the arms of each benefactor are blazoned at the side of his name, but the space reserved for Bright's arms is not filled in, and Cole has written "A blanc Sheild only." In common with all the incumbents of St. Mary's, William Bright was also a benefactor to the library of Shrewsbury School, and in the MS. "Register Booke," which constitutes the earliest catalogue, his name is entered under date 1619 as the donor of the following volumes, all of which are preserved in the library to-day in their original bindings:

"Optica Alhazeni² Arabis libri septem: Item Vitellionis libri decem per Fredericum Risnerum editi in uno volumine in folio. Impress Basileæ per Episcopios, 1572.

"Gnomonice Schonerii hoc est de descriptionibus horologiorum cui adduntur Gnomonice Mechanices de inventione lineæ meridianæ et de compositione Astrolabii in uno volumine in folio. Impress Noribergæ, 1562.

"De Arte Supputandi libri quatuor Tunstalli in quarto. Impress Londini per Pinsonum, 1522.³

¹ British Museum Additional MS. 5,857, p. 353.

² Al-Hazan (965-1039), Arab astronomer and optician. His account of the power of lenses is the earliest known, and he is credited with the first suggestion of spectacles. Kepler made considerable use of his writings.

³ This work of Bishop Tunstall's was a standard textbook on arithmetic in the sixteenth century, and Professor De Morgan calls the author "a very Euclid by the side of his contemporaries" (*Arithmetical Books*, p. 13).



ST. MARY'S CHURCH, SHREWSBURY.
(Showing the South Porch.)

"Annales Scripturæ cum quatuor libris chronologicæ et tabulis prutenicis Reinholdi in quarto authore Laurentio Codomano. Impress Wittebergæ per Welack, 1581.

"Novum Testamentum exceptis quibusdam epistolis et apocalypsi Syriace cum dedicatione latine in quarto. Impress Viennæ, 1555."

The last-named volume is without doubt the identical Syriac Testament which the Salopian parson had received from his brother under the latter's will. It contains a loose sheet, on which is written—doubtless in the hand of Timothy Bright himself: "*Deo duce, conite virtute Ingenio arte*——" and some words which have disappeared owing to the rust from the hasp eating through the binding when the book was chained. In addition to these works, the gift included "a musically instrument called *monocordum naturale inventum Ptolomei*," and "a mathematicall instrument on a round board Table called the mathematicall Jewell," both of which have disappeared.¹ The public preacher manifestly shared his brother's musical tastes, with which he combined a penchant for mathematics and astronomy.

Timothy Bright's widow, Margaret, who is mentioned with affection in his will, lived on until 1619-20, when, on February 9, she was buried at St. Mary's, doubtless in the same tomb with her husband.

Timothy Bright, the doctor's eldest son, between whom and his father some estrangement appears to have subsisted, of which the cause is not revealed, adopted the law as his profession. He was admitted at Gray's

¹ For these particulars the writer is indebted to the courtesy of the librarian of Shrewsbury School, Mr. T. E. Pickering.

Inn in 1599-1600, the exact date being furnished by the following entry in the admission register of that year :

“ Jan. 28. Timothy Bright, gent., son of Dr. Bright, of Barwick-in-Elmete, co. York.”¹

He was called to the Bar on June 3, 1608, and on July 4, 1610, married Edith, daughter of John Lewis of Marr, J.P., and Recorder of Doncaster.² The doctor can hardly have found fault with his son's choice of a wife, the latter's father being intimately connected by marriage with the principal gentry of the West Riding, besides possessing “commanding abilities” and a thorough knowledge of the law. It would be interesting if the Recorder, who, by-the-by, consistently spelt his name with a “y,” could be identified with the John Lewys, who, in September, 1589, reported Stephen Egerton's sermon at Blackfriars.³ His name appears as Deputy-Recorder of Doncaster in June, 1579, and as Recorder in July, 1582, in which capacity he seems to have attended all the courts held in the town up to October 5, 1587. Then his name disappears from the records, and on June 5, 1589, we find the name of John Ferne as Recorder. This lends colour to the supposition that Lewis was about this time away from Doncaster. Assuming the sermon to have been taken by him, it must have been about the last occasion on which he exercised his skill in “characterie,” for, as the tablet to his memory at Marr informs us, he died on October 17 of the same year, at the age of forty-five. The untimely

¹ *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, fol. 478 (ed. Joseph Foster, 1889, p. 98).

² *Genealogist*, new series, vol. xvi., p. 119. ³ *Ante*, p. 105.

demise of the writer would account for the sermon remaining unpublished. If the Recorder and the reporter were the same, one would like to know under what circumstances John Lewis became acquainted with Bright's invention, and to what extent his knowledge of the art had to do with the union of the two families. In this connection Vincent Skinner's recommendation of the "new sprong ympe" as likely to prove serviceable to "yo^r Lawiers in yo^r courthowses" may be recalled.

After his marriage Timothy Bright junior went to live at High Melton, or Melton-on-the-Hill, a village about five miles from Doncaster. We are told that he was on intimate terms with the Mayor and Corporation of the latter town, where he "times oft joined the civic authorities at the festive board,"¹ and in the absence of a regular Town Clerk, doubtless they frequently availed themselves of his legal knowledge and experience. After seven years of unexampled matrimonial happiness, however, during which four children were born to them, he and his wife died, one within a few days of the other. In the register at Melton the entry of Timothy Bright's burial on September 25, 1617, is followed immediately by that of his wife, on October 5. This remarkable event was set forth in a Latin inscription on their tomb—formerly to be seen in the church at Melton—which may be Englished as follows :

"Here lie Timothy Bright, bearing arms, learned in the law, and Edith, his wife. In dying, he bequeathed

¹ C. W. Hatfield's *Historical Notices of Doncaster*, second series (1868), p. 129. Dugdale calls him a "Counciller at Law" (*Visitation of the County of Yorke*, 1665-66, Surtees Society, 1859, p. 291).

to his wife weariness of this life, and inconsolable sorrow at his loss. Having testified a more than ordinary grief, and only survived her beloved husband ten [? fifteen] days, she followed him to heaven on the fifth day of the month [of October]; he having died on September 20th [? 25th], 1617. They lived together nine [? seven] years, in incomparable sweetness of disposition, unexampled harmony, and with the warmest regard of their friends. They rest here in the same sympathy that united them in life, until they shall rise together in eternity.”¹

Administration to the barrister's estate and the tuition of his four children were granted on November 7, 1617, to Thomas Lewis, of Marr, his brother-in-law, who the same day proved the will of the widow, “sick in body, but of good memory.”² The latter bequeaths £600 out of the leasehold of the impropriate parsonage of Royston to her eldest son, Timothy (who also had a son Timothy), and a similar sum between her three other children. She mentions her mother-in-law,

¹ “Hic jace[n]t Timotheus Bright, armiger, jurisperitus, et Editha, conjux. Ille moriens, conjugī vitæ tædium, sui desiderium reliquit. Quæ, marito mortuo, dolorem testata plusquam vulgarem decem [? quindecim] dies superstes maritum ad superos secuta. Ille 20 die mensis Septembris obiit, hæc quinto die mensis [sic], anno Domini 1617. Convixerant annos novem [sic], morum suavitate incomparabili, unanimitate inauditâ, amicorum summâ congratulatione, et jam eadem, quâ vixerunt concordia requiescunt, donec in æternum simul resurgent.” The confusion of dates in this inscription is perhaps attributable to some carelessness on the part of Roger Dodsworth, who copied it in 1620, and who must have omitted “Octobris” from the date of Edith Bright's death, as her will is dated October 4. It is not clear whether ten or fifteen days elapsed between the decease of husband and wife, while the seven years of their wedded life are here expanded into nine (see Yorkshire Archaeological Society, *Record Series*, vol. xxxiv., 1904, p. 118).

² Reg. Test., xxxiv., 748.

Margaret Bright, and her brother-in-law, Titus Bright, who were witnesses to her will with Thomas Lewis, John Davies, Thomas Levitt, Mrs. Mary Lewis of Marr, and Dorothy Lee. Although, on his tomb, Timothy Bright the barrister was described as "armiger," there is no record at the College of Arms of any grant to him or to his father, and it may be that he assumed the coat-armour of one of the great Yorkshire families of Bright. The description "gent." affixed to his name in the admission register of Gray's Inn proves that he was considered a man of good family; and this was largely due, perhaps, to his father's position as a pluralist, holding two of the most lucrative livings in the West Riding.

Bright's second son, Titus, to whom he left the bulk of his books, followed his father's profession of medicine. He graduated B.A. at Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1600; M.A. 1604. In 1607 he became a Licentiate of Medicine, and M.D. in 1611. He was living in the parish of Holy Trinity, Hull, in 1628, when a licence was granted for his marriage to Catherine Anne, of St. John's Parish, Beverley,¹ daughter of George Anne of Frickley, near Doncaster, after which event he appears to have practised at Beverley. He was dead on December 22, 1653, since Catherine Bright, making her will on that date, describes herself as "widdowe."²

It may safely be concluded that his descendants held

¹ Paver's *Extracts from Marriage Licences granted by the Ecclesiastical Court of York*, British Museum Additional MS. 29, 670, p. 218.

² Yorkshire Archæological Society, *Record Series*, vol. ix. (1890), p. 101.

the author of *Characterie* in high regard, for, as we have seen, the Christian name of Timothy was bestowed upon the eldest son of two later generations, and the second son of a fourth. This last-mentioned Timothy, with his brother and sister, was a beneficiary under the will of his maternal grandfather, John West of Hatfield, near Doncaster, who in 1658 bequeathed 5s. each and certain lands in Hatfield and Fishlake to John and Timothy Bright, and £60 to his granddaughter Jane.¹

At least one of the doctor's descendants was destined far to surpass him in literary eminence—no less a person than William Congreve, the great Restoration dramatist. "The mother of Congreve the poet," says Joseph Hunter,² "was descended of Edith Lewis, the wife of Timothy Bright," and this statement is confirmed by such evidence as we possess. Congreve himself communicated to Giles Jacob³ the information that he was born at Bardsey Grange, a few miles from Leeds, "being a part of the Estate of Sir John Lewis, his Great Uncle by his Mother's Side"; and the date of his baptism is furnished by this entry in the parish register of Bardsey: "William, the sonne of Mr. William Congreve, of Bardsey Grange, was baptized Febr. 10th, 1669" [*i.e.*, 1670]. His mother's maiden name was Browning,⁴ and in all likelihood she was a

¹ Yorkshire Archæological Society, *Record Series*, vol. ix. (1890), p. 141.

² *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii., p. 491.

³ *Poetical Register* (1719), vol. i., p. 41.

⁴ Some of Congreve's biographers have assumed that his mother was Anne Fitzherbert, daughter of Sir Thomas and granddaughter of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, the famous judge;

daughter of Mary Bright, the stenographer's granddaughter, by her first husband, Walter Browning. It is strange that none of Congreve's biographers has noticed that the most distinguished exponent of artificial comedy in English literature was a lineal descendant of our pioneer shorthand author, who thus stood to him in the relation of great-great-grandfather.

but she was really his grandmother (*Notes and Queries*, third series, vol. v., p. 132). The date and place of his birth have been given incorrectly; but Malone's discovery of the entry of his baptism placed them beyond dispute (*Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, ed. Malone, 1800, vol. i., part 1, p. 225). Congreve's last play, *The Way of the World* (1700), which Macaulay considered "the most deeply meditated and the most brilliantly written of all his works," has an early reference to shorthand used for newspaper reporting. In Act V., Scene 2, Mrs. Marwood exclaims to Lady Wishfort, whom she is urging not to allow her daughter's case to be brought into the public court: "What, and have yours and your daughter's reputation worried at the bar by a pack of lawyers! . . . And then to have my young revellers of the Temple take notes, like 'prentices at a conventicle; and after talk it over again in commons, or before drawers in an eating-house. *Lady Wishfort*. Worse and worse! *Mrs. Marwood*. Nay, this is nothing; if it would end here, 'twere well. But it must, after this, be consigned by the short-hand writers to the public press; from thence be transferred to the hands, nay, into the throats and lungs of hawkers, with voices more licentious than the loud flounder-man's: and this you must hear till you are stunned; nay, you must hear nothing else for some days."

CHAPTER X

POSTHUMOUS ESTIMATES

TIMOTHY BRIGHT'S labours in the realm of medical science have long since been relegated to the limbo of forgotten things, his work on melancholy was quickly ousted from popular favour by Burton's more pretentious and (it must be owned) far more entertaining dissertation, and his *Characterie* is valued now only as a bibliographical rarity and a curiosity of shorthand. Yet in his day he enjoyed no mean reputation as a versatile, learned, and not unprolific writer. Some proof of this is found in a work of William Clowes, a surgeon of St. Bartholomew's, whose books are considered the best surgical writings of the Elizabethan age. Defending his writing in the vernacular, Clowes cites the example of a number of "worthy Phisitions and Surgions" who had published "diuers profitable works of Physicke and Chirurgerie in English"; and among them the name of Dr. Bright is placed by the side of Turner, the botanist, Phaer, Boorde, and others of equal repute in their day.¹ The earliest actual notice of Bright's medical disquisitions occurs in the *De*

¹ *A briefe and necessary treatise, touching the cure of the disease now usually called Lues Venerea* (1596), p. 223.

Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus of John Pits (1619), a work which professes to give an account only of those writers who were of the Roman Catholic faith; and, as Anthony à Wood observes, Bright's inclusion is probably due to ignorance of his real religious views. Pits merely mentions *De sanitate restituenda*, and adds: "*De alijs eius scriptis, gestis, aut de tempore quo vixit, nihil. . .*" To say that those writings are no longer of any practical utility is to say no more than may be said of nearly all such effusions prior to the promulgation of Harvey's revolutionary ideas on the circulation of the blood. Most of Bright's books passed into two or more editions, and some of them, if one may judge from the number of times they were reprinted, attained considerable popularity on the Continent. Dr. Westby Gibson's assertion that they "drew upon him the animadversions of Continental writers" is based on a strange misapprehension, the truth being, of course, that Bright himself penned "animadversions"—*i.e.*, notes or observations—on some of those writers.

Dr. Gibson says justly that "his intellect was of a nobler stamp than that of Bales," his rival in shorthand invention; yet as the result of a critical examination of his *Melancholy* and other works, Dr. Norman Moore concludes that, although not unread, "he shows no real learning and had little mother wit"; while Sir James Paget, with a touch of undesigned irony, has expressed the view that his theology was much better than his physic.¹ That Timothy Bright shared in a large degree the superstitions and prejudices of his contemporaries

¹ *Records of Harvey* (1846), p. 25, note.

admits of no dispute ; it is only here and there that we light upon a passage in which he breaks away from the conventions of his age and gives the reader an original thought of his own. Steeped in the doctrines of the Greek philosophers, he accepts their conclusions with too great readiness, and the conviction which was now forcing itself upon scientific inquirers, that the key to knowledge was to be found in investigation and experiment rather than in a blind adherence to the old theories, left him untouched. He nowhere shows an appreciation of the superiority of experimental knowledge, his writings on natural and medical science consisting of little more than scholastic disputations and verbal generalities. Of his literary style there is little to be said. No unbiassed critic is likely to assign to his effusions a high place among the prose writings of that brilliant epoch which produced the masterpieces of Bacon and Hooker, to say nothing of the English Bible. Yet they are not without merits of their own ; and while Mr. J. E. Bailey has commented on the idiomatic excellence of his English, as exemplified in passages of his *Characterie*, others have not hesitated to designate him "a chaste and elegant writer, and a classical scholar of great repute."

It is to be regretted that we know so little of Timothy Bright the man. Of his personal appearance we are left in complete ignorance, for no portrait of him—authentic or spurious—is known to collectors ; not one of his books is embellished with the *vera effigies* of its author. Nor is there in either of his churches any memorial of the founder of the stenographic art in this

country. His own parishioners, it is to be feared, were only too willing to forget the parson who had—in the case of Methley, at all events—sought to “innovate newe tythes,” besides showing so little concern for their spiritual advancement; and their successors so far have failed to make good the omission. The picture of the Rector-physician adumbrated in the petitions of his neglected flock and in the cold letters of Sir John Savile is not a pleasant one to dwell upon, nor is it easy to reconcile with Westby Gibson’s charitable estimate of him as “the good physician and divine” or “the good hearted pastor and doctor.” Those who to-day practise the art of which he is rightly reckoned the father will prefer to picture him in his house by the great London hospital, experimenting with the strange symbols created by his fertile brain, or in the quiet Yorkshire parsonage, discoursing sweet melody upon his beloved harp or some other of his many “instruments of musick.”

When the church at Methley was restored a few years ago, the present Rector appealed for funds to erect a memorial to Bright. This was intended to take the form of a stained-glass window, to be designed by Sir William B. Richmond at a cost of some £600; but the support forthcoming was not such as to justify the carrying out of the project. Another proposal, made at the International Shorthand Congress more than twenty years ago, for the erection of a mural tablet near the site of Bright’s London residence, has not yet borne fruit; but now that the spot can be so nearly identified, the London County Council or the Governors of

St. Bartholomew's might be induced to take up the matter.

Bright's book on shorthand did not remain alone in the field for long. Rather less than two years elapsed before the publication of *The writing schoolemaster : Conteyning three Bookes in one . . . The first Booke, Entituled ; The Arte of Brachygraphie : that is, to write as fast as a man speaketh treatably, writing but one letter for a word . . . Inuented by Peter Bales. I. Ianu. 1590.* It has been disputed whether Bales' brachygraphy comes under the term "shorthand" at all, but obviously it was intended as such. His method, as the title indicates, is to represent each word by its initial letter, distinguishing them by four kinds of "pricks" or "tittles" in twelve positions. A famous penman of his time, Bales was employed by Walsingham in what was practically forgery for political ends, and some of his performances in minute and rapid calligraphy are enshrined in the pages of Holinshed and Isaac Disraeli. On October 10, 1597, a second edition of his book, "with sundry new additions, since the first edition, and better helpes for the ease of the said Arte," was issued ; and on January 1, 1599-1600, appeared a new method, of which the full title is here published for the first time :

"A New-yeares gift for England. The Art of new Brachygraphie. Verie necessarie to be learned and written with great speede : by the abbreviuation of all English words into three or foure letters with a tittle, for the lōgest words. Verie conuenient, profitable, and necessary for young students in Diuinitie, Law, Phisicke, and Philosophie : in the speedie furtherance and ease of their studies. Wherby a man may take a Sermon,

or any other speech, verbatim as fast as a man speaketh treatably : as hath bin tryed by diuerse practisers therein. *Quod facis fac cito. Mora trahit periculum.* Deuised by Peter Bales of London Gent. I Januarij. Anno 1600. London, printed by Richard Field. 1600.

So rare is this little duodecimo that its very existence has been doubted, and the single known copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is probably unique. The greater part of the book is appropriated to a table of words with their abbreviated forms, and the "system," if one may dignify it by such a term, appears to be merely an extension of that expounded in his former treatises. A question which naturally suggests itself is : Did Bright and Bales ever meet ? The latter was certainly settled in London in 1590, when he kept a school at the upper end of Old Bailey, near the sign of the Dolphin, so that, unless his rival had already given up his Smithfield residence, it would be strange if the two never crossed one another's path. Bales must have known of *Characterie*, which is referred to in a Latin ode from the pen of Thomas Newton, of Cambridge, physician and divine, prefixed to his *Writing schoolemaster* :

"Hæc Brightus solers vestigia trita secutus,
Sensa Characteres docuit depingere mentis,"

lines which have been translated thus : "The skilful Bright followed the oft-trodden track, and taught characters to represent the ideas of the mind"—an expression giving colour to the supposition that previous writers had treated of brief writing. Bales paid his predecessor the additional compliment of transferring bodily to his own work the "Table of words" appended to *Characterie*.

The treatises of both Bright and Bales were quickly reduced to the ranks of obsolete and useless works, for in 1602, just before Bright's monopoly expired, an anonymous little treatise was published with the title: *The art of stenographie, Teaching by plaine and certaine Rules, to the capacitie of the meanest, and for the use of all professions, The way of compendious Writing*. Subsequent editions revealed the author as another clergyman—John Willis, B.D.—of whose personal history little more than half a dozen dates has been given to the world.¹ Although Willis's earliest production makes no direct reference to Timothy Bright, there are unmistakable allusions to certain defects of the doctor's method. "The whole frame of this [his own] worke," writes Willis, "is so contriued, that the memorie shall not neede to be charged with a tedious labouring of a multitude of Wordes and Characters by hart; but enured onely to exercise order." And he warns his pupils against writing, as Bright did, "from the toppe to the bottome of the leafe," enjoining them rather to write "from the left hand towards the right, according to the manner of writing vsed among vs," very reasonably arguing that this plan is more natural, rapid, and convenient than the Oriental method adopted by his pre-

¹ The fact that Mr. A. T. Wright, the rescuer of so many stenographic worthies of the past from unmerited obscurity, has taken in hand the biographing of "the father of rational shorthand," betokens a treat in store for all who take an interest in the early history of the art. Although John Willis owed little or nothing to the shorthand labours of his brother parson, he readily acknowledges his indebtedness in another direction by including the name of "D. Brightus" among those of half a dozen writers whose works he had consulted in the preparation of his *Mnemonica*, first published in 1618.

decessor. To Willis undoubtedly belongs the credit of producing the first rational and workable system of rapid writing with a strictly alphabetical basis, and all subsequent system-makers have followed his plan in its main principles. It is of interest, too, to note that he wrote phonetically, for he is careful to distinguish his work by styling it "spelling characterie," and emphasizes the fact that "in this Art, not the orthographie, but the sound of the word is respected."

In his *Schoolmaster to Stenography* (1622) Willis observes that "D[r.] Bright in his Art of Characterie, had 556. Charactericall words, whereunto all other words must be referred: some by affinity and neerenesse of their sound: some as conjugates by difference of termination, number, comparison, and tense; some as deriuatiues, some as synonymaes, some as indiuiduall *Species* vnder the same *Genus*, and some as contraries, (which required both strength of iudgement and good abilitie of Schollership to performe :) yet had not the incumbrance beene more by these relations, & perfecting the sense with a supply out of the precedent and subsequent words, the number of the Characters would neuer haue beene thought troublesome, though they were not literall, but made *ad placitum*. And yet all these difficulties notwithstanding, diuers men attained great readinesse in the practice of that Art." Against this must be placed the statement of Edmond Willis (*Abreuiation of Writing by Character*, 1618) that "Great paine and studious care hath been taken by many men to attaine to the knowledge of *Short writing*; and worthily and learnedly haue some of them behaued

themselves therein. Amongst the rest, that worthy learned man, Master Doctor *Bright*, (in his Book intituled, *An Art of short, swift, and secret writing by Character*) hath shewed great learning : Wherein he diuided those Characterly wordes, Alphabetically into dozens to be learned by heart, distinguished by their formes and positions ; which did necessarily require such vnderstanding and memory, as that few of the ordinary sort of men could attaine to the knowledge thereof.”¹ In his second edition of 1627 the same writer informs his readers : “ All former Authors that wrote any thing of this subiect, are now gone off the Stage of this life, and their Workes almost perished ;” but this latter clause may only mean that the public had snapped up all the copies available in their eagerness to test the value of the new invention. Philip Gibbs, the first historian of shorthand, was the first to notice Bright’s *Characterie* at any length, and he carefully refrained from expressing any opinion as to its merits. “ The Doctor is, to me, I own in several things scarce intelligible,” he declares, “ and I must desire to be excused from passing a Judgment on his Performance.” The performance receives brief mention from Joseph Gurney, who avers that the treatise, “ as might naturally be expected in a first essay, though the production of a very ingenious man, came many degrees short of the requisite perfection.” John Angell, who had seen only Gibbs’s account of the book, notes as most remarkable about it the Table of Words

¹ Mr. M. Levy (*History of Shorthand Writing*, 1862, p. 13 ; and *Shorthand and Typewriting*, vol. i., p. 81, February, 1896) ascribes these words to John Willis ; and Dr. Westby Gibson has fallen into the same error (*Transactions of the First International Shorthand Congress*, p. 78).

and the author's being "very sanguine with respect to his new Performance." In this respect Bright was not more blameworthy than the majority of his successors, for an unwavering faith in the superlative excellence of his own handiwork has been a characteristic of nearly every shorthand contriver from the time of Bright until now. And the worthy Angell himself, if Boswell is to be trusted, entertained a much higher opinion of his own system than he was able to justify in practice.

Although superseded within less than fifteen years of its publication, it was Timothy Bright's little book of 1588 which gave the first great impetus to the art, and his name will ever be remembered as that of the virtual and veritable father of modern shorthand. The merit of Timothy Bright, as Mr. W. E. A. Axon has well said, was in seeing that the needs of the modern world would be helped by such an instrument as Tiro was said to have wielded in the Roman forum. "Bright has been sometimes sneered at by people unable to appreciate excellence from a historic point of view. His book was no doubt crude, but its influence in stimulating others to produce something better is no small part of the benefit that its appearance conferred. And it holds, and must continue to hold, a position of honour, because it was the first definite step towards the resuscitation of an art which, like so many other valuable accomplishments, had been extinguished in the destruction of the Roman Empire. Timothy Bright is the leader in a procession which ends with Isaac Pitman."¹

¹ Mr. Edward A. Cope, in *Phonetic Journal*, vol. xlv., p. 154 (March 26, 1887).

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A TREATISE : / *Wherein is declared the / sufficiencie of English / Medicines, for cure of all / diseases, cured with / Medicine. / [Device] / ¶ At London, / Printed by Henrie Middleton, / for Thomas Man. / Anno. 1580.*

12mo., pp. 48, title within woodcut lace border. Sig. A-Fiv. in fours. Brit. Mus.

A / *Treatise, / wherein is decla- / red the sufficiencie of / English Medicines, for cure of / all Diseases, cured with / Medi- / cines. / Whereunto is added a col- / lection of Medicines growing / (for the most part) within our English / Climat, approued and experimented / against the Iaundice, Dropsie, / Stone, Falling-sicknesse, / Pestilence. / At London, / Printed by H.L. for Tho. / Man. 1615.*

16mo., pp. [xii] + 128 (verso of last leaf blank), title within woodcut border. The collection of medicines has a separate title (p. 67), as follows : " A / collection of / Medicines, growing for the / most part within our English Cli- / mat ; approued and expe- / rimented against / the / Iaundise, / Dropsie, / Stone, / Falling Sicknesse, / and Pestilence. / Set downe alphabetically, for the ease / of all, that shall haue occasion to / use them. / Arnold. de villa noua. / *Qui potest mederi simplicibus, frustra / querit composita.* / At London printed, / 1615." / Sig. A-18 in eights. Brit. Mus.

Hygieina, / *id est / de sanitate / tuenda medicinæ / pars prima, authore / Timotheo Brighto Cant- / brigiensi, / Medici- / næ Doctore. / Ἀσκήσις ὑγιεινῆς ἀκορίῃ τροφῆς, ἀσκήσις πόνων. / Sanitatis studium, &c. / [Woodcut of Christ carrying a lamb, and around it the inscription, " Perit et inventa est."] / Londini, / Excudebat H. Middletonus, / impensis T.M.*

8vo., pp. [xiv] + 108. Sig. A-H6 in eights. N.D. (1582). Brit. Mus.

Hygieina: / *id est*, / de sanitate / tuenda, medicinæ / pars prima. / *Auctore* / Timotheo Brighto Canta- / brigiensi, *Medicinæ Doctore*. / "Ἀσκησις ὑγιεινῆς ἀκορὴ τροφῆς, ἀοκνὴ πόνων. / [Wood-cut of female warrior, with cornucopia, owl, etc.] / Francofurdi / Apud Joannem Wechelum, / MDLXXXVIII.

8vo., pp. 76 (verso of last leaf blank). Sig. A-E6 in eights. Brit. Mus.

Hygieina, / *id est*, / de sanitate / tvenda, medici- / næ pars prima. / *Auctore* / Timotheo Brighto Can- / tabrigiensi, *Medicinæ Doctore*. / Cui accesserunt De Studiosorum sanitate / libri III. Marsilii Ficini. / "Ἀσκησις ὑγιεινῆς ἀκορὴ τροφῆς, ἀοκνὴ πόνων. [Same woodcut as in *Hygieina*, 1588 ed.] / 1598. Francofurti / Ex Officina Paltheniana, sumtibus hered. / Petri Fischeri and Ionæ Rhodii.

8vo., pp. 90. Sig. A-F8 in eights. Sion College.

Hygieina, / *id est*, / de sanitate / tvenda, medicinæ / pars prima. / *Auctore* / Timotheo Brighto / Cantabrigiensi, *Medicinæ Doctore*. / Cui accesserunt de Studiosorum sanitate libri III. / Marsilii Ficini. / "Ἀσκησις ὑγιεινῆς ἀκορὴ τροφῆς, ἀοκνὴ πόνων. [Wood-cut of man mounted on a winged stag, flourishing a serpent, with an hourglass beneath him: above is the word "Tempus."] 1647. / Moguntia, / Typis Nicolai Heyll. / Sumpt. Philippi Iacobi Fischeri.

12mo., pp. 92. Sig. A-D10 in twelves. Brit. Mus.

Medicinæ / therapeutica / pars: de dyscrasia / corporis hvmani: / *avthore* Timotheo / Brighto Cantabrigiensi: / medicinæ doctore. / Ad honoratissimum virum Dominum / Gulielmum Cecilium: &c. *literarum / patronum ac Mæcenatem summum*. / [Same woodcut as in *Hygieina*, 1582 ed.] / Londini, / Excudebat Henricus Middletonus / impensis Thomæ Man. / 1583.

8vo., pp. 200. Sig. A-N4 in eights. Brit. Mus.

Therapeutica; / *Hoc est*, / de sanitate / restituenda, / medicina / Pars Altera: / *Auctore* / Timotheo Brighto Canta- / brigiensi, *Medicinæ doctore*. / Ad honoratissimum vi- / rum, Dominum Gulielmum Ce- / cilium, &c. *literarum patro- / num & Mæcenatem*. / Omnibus cujusvis facultatis studiosis per- / utilis, ac propè necessaria. / [Same woodcut as in *Hygieina*, 1588 ed., but smaller] / Francofurdi / Apud Joannem Wechelum, / MDLXXXIX.

8vo., pp. 176 (verso of last leaf blank). Sig. A-L8 in eights. Brit. Mus.

Therapevtica ; / Hoc est, / de sanitate / restitvenda, / medicinæ / Pars Altera : / Auctore / Timotheo Brighto Cantabrigiensi, Medicinæ doctore. / Omnibvs cuiusvis facultatis studiosis per- / utilis, ac prope necessaria. / [Same woodcut as in *Hygieina*, 1588 ed.] 1598. / *Francofvrti / Ex Officina Palthe-miana, sumtibus hered. / Petri Fischeri & Ionæ Rhodii.*

8vo., pp. 112 (verso of last leaf blank). Sig. A-G8 in eights. Sion College.

Therapevtica, / Hoc est, / de sanitate / restitvenda, / medicinæ, / pars altera : / Auctore / Timotheo Brighto / Cantabrigiensi, Medicinæ / Doctore. / Omnibus cuiusvis facultatis studiosis peruti- / lis, ac prope necessaria. / [Same woodcut as in *Hygieina*, 1647 ed.] 1647. / *Moguntia, / Typis Nicolai Heyll, / Sumpt. Philippi Iacobi Fischeri.*

12mo., pp. 116. Sig. A-E10 in twelves. Brit. Mus.

In physicam / Gvlielmi Adol- / phi Scribonii, / Post secundam editionem ab autore denuò / copiosissimè adauctam, & in III. Libros / distinctam. / Animaduersiones Timothei Brighti / Cantabrigiensis, medicinæ / Doctoris. / [Woodcut of Cambridge University arms.] / *Cantabrigiæ, / Ex officina Thomæ Thomasij. /* 1584.

8vo., pp. [viii] + 272. Sig. ¶viii., A-Q6 in eights. Brit. Mus.

In Physicam Gul. Ad. Scribonii, Francofurdi, 1587.

Copy sold at Sotheby's, March 1845.

Gvlielmi Adolphi / Scribonii / Physica / et sphaerica / doctrina : / illa Timothei / Brighthi Cantabri- / giensis Med. D. animad- / versionibus : / hæc vero M. Zacharariæ / Palthenii Fridbergensis notis / illustrata. / Tertio nunc edita, rerum- / que Indice locupletissimo annexo dotata. / [Same woodcut as in *Therapeutica*, 1589 ed.] / *Francofurdi / Apud Joannem Wechelium. /* MDXCIII.

8vo., pp. [vii] + 192 + [ix]. Sig. A-N8 in eights. Brit. Mus. This is the same work as the preceding.

Gulielmi Adolphi Scribonii Physica et sphaerica doctrina. . . . Quarto nunc edita. . . . Francofurti.

12mo. N.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

A / treatise of / melancholie. / Containing the causes / thereof, & reasons of the strange effects it worketh / in our minds and bodies : with the phisicke cure, and / spirituall consolation for such as haue thereto ad- / ioyned an afflicted conscience. / The difference betwixt it, and melancholie with diuerse / philosophicall

discourses touching actions, and af-/fections of soule, spirit, and body : the par- / ticulars whereof are to be seene / before the booke. / By T. Bright Doctor of Phisicke. / [Woodcut of anchor with the motto "Anchora. Spei."] / Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrol -/ lier, dwelling in the Black- / Friers. 1586.

8vo., pp. [xxiv] + 288, with 1 leaf of "Faults escaped in the printing." Sig. A-S in eights.

A / treatise of / melancholy. / Contayning the causes thereof, and / reasons of the straunge effects it worketh in our / minds and bodies : with the Phisicke cure, and / spirituall consolation for such as haue / thereto adioyned afflicted / conscience. / The difference betwixt it, and melancholy, with di- / uerse philosophicall discourses touching actions, and / affections of soule, spirit and body : the particu- / lars whereof are to be seene before / the booke. /

By T. Bright Doctor of / Phisicke. / [Device.] / Imprinted at London by / Iohn VVindet. / 1586.

8vo., pp. [xvi] + 276. Sig. *i-viii, A-Sii in eights. Brit. Mus.

A / treatise / of / melancholy. / Containing the / Causes There- of, And / Reasons of the strange effects it worketh / in our minds and bodies : with the Phy- / sike Cure, and spirituall consolation / for such as haue thereto adioyned / afflicted Conscience : / The difference be- / twixt it, and melancholy, / With diuers Philosophicall discourses / touching actions, and affections of / Soule, Spirit, and Body : the / particulars whereof are to / bee seene before the / booke. /

By T. Bright Doctor of Phisicke. / Newly Corrected and amended. / London. / Printed by William Stansby. 1613.

8vo., pp. [xxi] + 348 (verso of last leaf blank). Sig. B-Z6 in eights. Brit. Mus.

Characterie. / An arte / of shorte, swifte, / and secrete wri- ting by Charac- / ter. / Inuented by Timothe / Bright, Doctor of / Phisike. / [Device.] / Imprinted at London by / I. Windet, the Assigne / of Tim. Bright. / 1588. / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. / Forbidding all other to print / the same.

24mo., pp. 256, with a folding table. Sig. A12, B6, ¶6, A-G12, H6, I12, K2. Bodleian and Pepysian libraries.

Characterie [etc.].

A typographical reprint of the preceding, with engraved short-hand characters and an additional leaf of "Advertisement," dated 26th July, 1888. Edited by James Herbert Ford, *Reporters' Journal* Office, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. Colophon : "Reprinted by W. Holmes, Ulverstone." 100 copies printed. Brit. Mus.

An / abridgement / of the booke of acts / and monvmentes
of / the chvrch : / Written by that Reuerend Father, Mai- / ster
John Fox : and now abridged by Timothe Bright, / Doctor of
Phisicke, for such as either thorough / want of leysure, or abilitie,
haue not the / vse of so necessary an history. / All day long are
we counted as sheepe for the slaughter. Psal. 44. / [Woodcut of
the Pope seated on a throne in his pontificals slaying a lamb,
held by a friar ; dead sheep lying around, in the distance martyrs
burning at the stake] / *How long Lord, holy and true ? Apocal.*
Cap. 6, verse 10. / Imprinted at London by I. Windet, at the
assignment / of Master Tim. Bright, and are to be sold at Pauls
wharf, / at the signe of the Crosse-keyes, 1589. / *Cum gratia, &*
Privillegio Regiae Maiestatis.

4to., pp. [xvi] + 504 + 288 + [xiv] (verso of last leaf blank).
Clark Letter. On the last page is a woodcut of Time, cutting
down a sheaf of corn with his scythe ; and a clasped Bible bearing
the inscription : " Verbum Dei manet in ætænum." At the top
of the cut are Elizabeth's arms, on the right the arms of the
City of London, on the left those of the Stationers' Company,
and at the foot Windet's own sign of the Bear, with the initials
I. W. above it, and the motto : " Non solo pane vivit homo :
Luke 4." Colophon : Imprinted at London by I. Windet, at
the / assignment of *Timothie Bright.*" Sig. ¶8, A-HH8, II4,
AA-SS8, TT4, VV8, YY8, ZZ4. Brit. Mus.

ΨΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΑ : / *hoc est, / de hominis / perfectione, ani- /*
mo, et in primis ortu hujus, / commentationes ac disputationes
quorundam / Theologorum & Philosophorum nostræ æta- /
tis, quos versa pagina ostendit. / Philosophiæ studiosis lectu
jucundæ & utiles. / Recensente / Rodolpho Goclenio, Pro-
fessore / in Academia Marpurgensi Philosophico. / [Woodcut of
nymph holding anchor, etc.] / Marpvrgi, / *Ex Officina Typo-*
graphica Pauli Egenolphi. / Anno M.D.LXXXX.

12mo., pp. 304. On verso of title is a list of eleven authors
whose contributions are printed in the volume, and at pp. 276-
294 : " Animadversiones Timothei / Brighti Cantabrigiensis,
medicinae Doctoris : / *De Traduce.*" Later editions, 1594 and
1597. Sig. O-T8 in eights.

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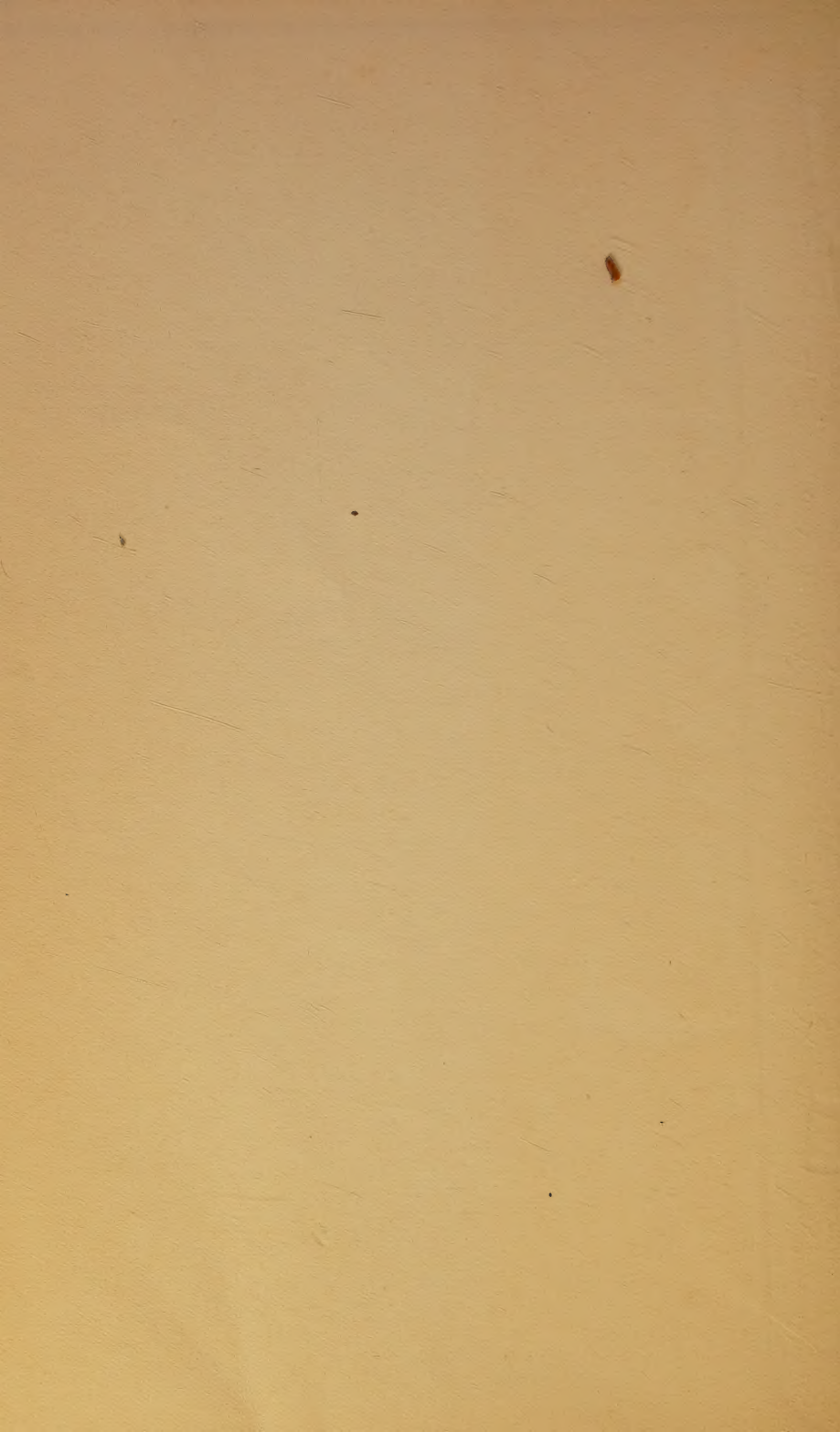
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